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MY MEMOIRS

OF THE

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

DURING THE

WAR FOR THE UNION, 1861-65.

BY

COLONEL SILAS W. BURT,

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Edited by the STATE HISTORIAN and Issued as War of the
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PREFACE.

WHILE serving in the military establishment of the State of New York during the war of 1861-65 and later—in all about eight years—I kept occasional notes of such events and transactions as I had any connection or acquaintance with, and copies of printed reports and other literature pertaining to military matters. I had then no formulated purpose as to the future use for these *data*.

After the war ended I frequently urged upon Governor Morgan the preparation by some competent literary man of an account of the remarkable military accomplishment by the State of New York, during his second administration in 1861-62; saying that, both from a public and a personal view, he could well afford to pay liberally for such a permanent record. I think he did engage Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew of this city, who had been a member of his staff in 1859-60, to prepare such an account, but for some reason it was never done, nor was I ever called upon for my *data*, which I had placed at the Governor's disposal.

Unfortunately the greater part of my diaries, memoranda and other papers were lost in the fire that destroyed the Morrill Storage Warehouse in this city in October, 1881. This loss and the death of Governor Morgan in the spring of 1883 for a while put the matter out of my mind. Three years later, having collected some material but with a larger dependence on my memory, I began to write my memoirs of the relation of the State to the whole war and had concluded the part covered by Governor Morgan's admin-

istration when other more urgent matters diverted my attention and the subsequent misplacement of the manuscript, etc., wholly arrested my completion of the work. The recent recovery of the manuscript and its acceptance by Mr. Hastings, State Historian, for incorporation in his annual report will preserve some aspects of an important part of the history of our State. In revising it now I have added a few notes and appendices regarding matters of interest that have recently occurred to me. These memoirs make no pretention to literary merit, and the desultory manner in which they were prepared has bred some repetitions that seemed necessary to illustrate topics in hand, but I trust they may furnish some material to the future historian who shall tell in fullness and in fitting phrase the glorious story of how the Empire State met a great crisis in the fate of the Nation.

As in most of the events and transactions mentioned I had a part, their recital may have a personal or even egotistical flavor, but this I assume is so natural or incidental to such memoirs as not to require apology.

I cannot determine whether I shall be able to continue the memoirs to the close of the war. The later period is not so important or interesting, except as to the draft riots of July, 1863, and to the extraordinary and excessive expenditures of bounties to fill quotas of localities or furnish substitutes for drafted men. Very few regimental or other organizations were begun or completed during this later period and most of the enlistments were for the recruitment of regiments in the field.

It is a somewhat melancholy thought that I am the sole survivor of those who served on Governor Morgan's "War" Staff; I am however becoming used to finding myself "the last leaf", that Holmes depicts, on quite a grove of trees.

S. W. B.

NEW YORK CITY, *April 25, 1902.*

INTRODUCTORY.

AS these memoirs are necessarily personal to some extent, I will give a very brief account of how, without any previous military training or connection, I became absorbed in that branch of the New York State service for nearly eight years and during the most critical period of our national history.

The project of a trans-continental railroad, first actively pressed by a Mr. Whitney, had in 1858-9 gained such strength in Congress as to make its early prosecution seem imminent. As a consequence, and at the instance of Mr. Horace Greeley, I spent a large portion of the year 1860 in that part of the Rocky Mountain region then popularly known as "Pike's Peak", though extending a hundred miles north of it. It was my idea that I could so acquaint myself with the larger topographical features of that region, which seemed to present the most formidable obstacle to the railway, as to make my engagement as locating engineer probable, if not indispensable, when the work began. Mr. Greeley in October wrote me that the coming Presidential election and the conditions of popular feeling, North and South, would indefinitely postpone the railroad scheme. We therefore returned to my father's house in Kinderhook, N. Y., about January 1, 1861. I was without employment and very anxious to obtain some business engagement, but the threatening attitude of the Southern States and the consequent business distractions and paralysis were insuperable impediments.

On the 16th of February the New York State Legislature had appropriated the sum of \$50,000 for the relief of the people of Kansas Territory suffering from the great drought of the previous year and my father had been selected as the agent to dispense this bounty. This task he completed in March and was settling his accounts with Comptroller Denniston at Albany, when, on April 16th, the law was enacted, appropriating \$3,000,000 for the organization and equipment of volunteers to aid in repressing the rebellion. My father was requested to aid in auditing the accounts for expenditures under this act.

In the meantime I remained at Kinderhook, my impatience with lack of work, being mitigated by some temporary employment and by that absorbing interest in the great national drama that held every one's attention more or less. Perceiving that the immediate field of the contest would be in Virginia, I cast about for a good map of that State on such a scale as would give a clear idea of military positions and movements, but could find none in the village. In the pursuit of my profession as a civil engineer I had collected many railroad and other maps, and fortunately had a series of the U. S. Coast Survey reports, containing charts of the Chesapeake Bay and other Virginia and Maryland waters and of the rivers flowing into them. I was thus enabled to construct a map on a scale of eight miles to the inch, permitting the representation of such topographical details as were known to me. On one of his visits home my father insisted on taking this map to Albany and he showed it to the Inspector General, Marsena R. Patrick, a former officer of the regular army, who took it to Governor Morgan and asked permission to appoint me as a clerk in his office, saying that while I would not be needed for map-making he believed that my education and experience would be very useful in the work of

organizing and equipping troops. The result was my appointment as a clerk in the Inspector General's office at a salary of one thousand dollars a year.

I repaired to Albany to report for duty on Monday, May 27th, and found the city in great excitement on account of the funeral services of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth of the 11th N. Y. S. Vol. Infantry, assassinated at Alexandria, Va., on the previous Friday, and whose body was then *en route* to Saratoga County to be interred there.

I was very kindly received by General Patrick and began my service in the State military department, little thinking that it would continue for nearly eight years, and was also the beginning of a long term in the public service extending to this date.

SILAS W. BURT.

APRIL 25, 1887.

No. 1.

FIRST LEVY—APRIL 15 TO JUNE 30, 1861.

IN the history of the great rebellion of 1861 no incident has been more dwelt upon than the absolutely unprepared condition of the Free States to meet the shock. There had been for many years premonitions of the great revolt, but successive compromises had relieved the situation, and the public mind at the North had finally concluded that despite the outcry there was no wolf across the border. The Federal army was insignificant in numbers and whether by chance or design, its largest collected force was in Texas and so early as February 18th was treacherously surrendered to the rebel forces by General David E. Twiggs, its commanding officer, and was released only upon a parole that disarmed many loyal officers at a time when they were sorely needed. By evident design the greater part of the small arms and munitions of war had been transferred to Southern arsenals before actual hostilities were begun.

Very few of the Free States had an organized militia and where there was any such organization it was very feeble compared with the great mass of population. The Adjutant General of the Army reported on the 1st of January, 1861, that the enrolled militia in the Free States (excepting Iowa and Oregon, from which there were no returns) comprised 2,197,236 men,* but of this formidable army on paper, not over *one per cent* was in any respect efficient for military purposes. The return from New York was 418,846, but not

* Army Register for 1861, p. 39

more than 15,000 of this number were uniformed and drilled and this State was in this respect far in advance of any other.

Directly after the war of 1812-15 with Great Britain, the New York militia was organized upon a very pretentious plan which contemplated the annual muster and instruction of the whole arms-bearing population. But gradually as public interest abated, there crept in exemptions and commutations and such a perfunctory observance of the law as became farcical and indeed injurious to the public interests. The military allegiance of the citizens is the very cornerstone of the republic and in the words of the Federal Constitution "a well regulated militia" is "necessary to the security of a free state". This political canon had been some fifteen years earlier more positively enunciated in the fortieth article of the first constitution of the State of New York, where after stating that "it is the duty of every man who enjoys the protection of society, to be prepared and willing to defend it", the constitution "doth ORDAIN, DETERMINE AND DECLARE, That the militia of this State, at all times hereafter, as well in peace as in war, shall be armed and disciplined, and in readiness for service." A long period of peace had naturally weakened the force of this principle and probably the isolation of our country from the other great political powers and our transcendent increase in population and might will always be accounted a release from the burdens of military preparation such as rest on other nations. But in 1861 what was worse than lack of provision existed in the general contempt for military affairs encouraged by the ridiculous manner in which the great principle of military service had been treated. It was bewildering to suddenly find the very existence of the nation depending upon the derided militia of the country.

In New York there were some fifteen infantry regiments, most of them comprised in the great cities, that could be immediately called

into service with some assurance of their efficiency. Of cavalry or artillery there was nothing available that was of value. The general staff had a paper organization and the chiefs of the departments, known as the "Governor's staff", occupied positions more ornamental than useful. Some attention to military affairs was given by the Adjutant General, Inspector General and the Commissary General of Ordnance, but the only service rendered by other officers of the staff was an attendance upon the Governor at all ceremonial occasions when their gorgeous uniforms enlivened the general sombreness of male attire in these sad-colored days.

The session of the New York Legislature began on January 1, 1861, and from the very first day its proceedings were strongly colored by the great political events in the South, though no military legislation was accomplished until four days after the firing of the first gun at Fort Sumter, when a law was passed providing for an army of 30,000 men. On April 15th President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling into service 75,000 militia. This proclamation was accompanied by a circular letter to Governor Morgan, requesting him to detach from the militia of the State its quota of 13,280 officers and men to serve as infantry or riflemen for a period of three months to be rendezvoused at New York, Albany and Elmira. On the next day, April 16th, was enacted the law, subsequently known as Chapter 277, Laws of 1861, authorizing the enrollment and muster of the 30,000 volunteers "in addition to the present military organization, and a part of the militia thereof".

On the 18th Governor Morgan issued a proclamation making a call for seventeen regiments to serve three months to fill the quota of the State under the requisition of the Secretary of War of the 15th. The proclamation provided that these regiments should be organized under the recent law, and by General Orders No. 13 of

same date the details of organization were published. In fact none of the regiments so organized was mustered for three months to fill the quota under the call of April 15th; this was accomplished by the muster-in of the uniformed militia regiments for that period. On April 19th the famous Seventh Regiment left New York city for Washington with a total of 990 men and officers, a marvelous example of speedy recruitment. This notable event was succeeded the next evening by a grand mass meeting in Union Square which presented such a unanimous and fervid demonstration of patriotism as to permanently fix the attitude of the metropolis during the contest and to have a great moral effect throughout the whole North. An outcome of this significant meeting was the organization of the Union Defense Committee, composed of prominent and active citizens and provided with funds from the city treasury and private contributions. This patriotic body materially aided the recruiting and equipment of the militia and volunteer regiments sent from New York city before June 1st and extinguished the last hope of the secessionists that they would find substantial sympathy there.* Besides the Seventh Regiment of militia there went from New York city the Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Twelfth, Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first Regiments, from Brooklyn the Thirteenth and Twenty-eighth, from Kingston the Twentieth and from Albany the Twenty-fifth. All of these regiments left the State during April, most of them before the 23d. There is now no doubt but that the

* I find from data kept by me that all the expenditures by this committee were made between April 21st and July 31st, 1861, and there were paid from the City Fund \$771,933.10 and from funds contributed by citizens \$58,338.63, or a total of \$830,271.73. Of this, \$226,589.27 were spent for arms and accoutrements; \$188,204 for account of the militia regiments, and \$415,478.46 for account of volunteer regiments. No part of this amount has ever been refunded by the United States because of defects and informalities in the accounts.

prompt movement of the militia regiments from Massachusetts and New York prevented the capture of Washington, which, otherwise almost defenseless, could have been readily taken by the Virginia rebels. It is useless to speculate as to the possible course of the war had the capital of the Union been captured at the very outset of the rebellion or as to the result on foreign countries of such a disaster. The militia forces of two loyal States prevented such a disaster and restored to public confidence and respect that long condemned organization.*

* The promptitude with which the New York militia regiments were forwarded to the relief of Washington was warmly acknowledged by the President, as shown by the following letters:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *April 26, 1861.*

To His Excellency E. D. MORGAN, *Governor of New York:*

Dear Sir: I have to repeat the acknowledgments of this Department for your very prompt and energetic action in sending forward the troops of your State.

* * * * *

Very truly yours,
SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *April 29, 1861.*

His Excellency E. D. MORGAN, *Governor of New York:*

My Dear Sir: I have yours of the 24th inst. This Department has again to acknowledge its many obligations to your Excellency for the promptness and despatch with which you have sent forward your troops for the defence of the capital. I have to request that you will not send any more to this point until you are further advised. I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Very truly,
SIMON CAMERON,†
Secretary of War.

† Simon Cameron was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1799. He learned the printers' trade and at 21 years of age was editor of a paper in Doylestown and in 1822 was editing a paper in Harrisburg, Pa. He embarked in the banking business and constructed railways in central Pennsylvania where he laid the foundation for the great fortune which he subsequently accumulated. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1845 as a Democrat, but later become identified with the "People's Party"

The act of April 16, 1861, "to authorize the embodying and equipment of a Volunteer Militia and to provide for the public defense", was a very faulty law and I think of doubtful constitutionality in devolving upon a board the authority and power to enroll, muster and discharge from service the troops to be raised. I believe this power resided solely in the Governor as Commander-in-Chief, but whether it did or not, the law should have recognized it in him or conferred it upon him. Instead of this the Governor was cojoined with the Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Attorney General, State Engineer and Surveyor and State Treasurer, an awkward, incongruous and irresponsible body. The attempt to administer military affairs by a council or commission has seldom, if ever, been successful. In the present instance there were from the beginning a lack of harmony and an official jealousy that interfered with the satisfactory administration of the law. The officers comprising the board were Governor Edwin D. Morgan, Lieutenant-Governor Robert Campbell, Secretary of State David R. Floyd-Jones, Attorney General Charles G. Myers, State Engineer Van Rensselaer Richmond and Treasurer Philip Dorsheimer.

The Governor's staff as appointed on January 1st were Adjutant General J. Meredith Read, Inspector General William A. Jackson, Engineer-in-Chief Chester A. Arthur, Judge Advocate General William Henry Anthon, Surgeon-General S. Oakley Vander Poel, Quartermaster General Cuyler Van Vechten, Paymaster General

which subsequently consolidated with the Republicans. He was candidate for President in 1860 and Mr. Lincoln recognized his power and ability by calling him to his Cabinet as Secretary of War. He resigned his position, however, January 11, 1862, and was appointed as Minister to Russia, which position he held until the following November, when he resigned. In 1866 he was again returned to the United States Senate and returned for the fourth time in 1873, but resigned in favor of his son, James Donald Cameron. For forty-five years he was the acknowledged Czar of Pennsylvania politics. He died June 26, 1889.

Thomas B. Van Buren, Aides-de-Camp Edwin D. Morgan, Jr., Samuel D. Bradford and Elliott F. Shepard; Military Secretary John H. Linsly.

The Legislature adjourned on April 16th, the very day that the bill became a law. The board of State officers formed by the act was immediately convened, the Governor being made its chairman and Mr. Linsly its secretary. The Governor's proclamation, already referred to, was made on the 18th, on which date the General Orders (No. 13) were issued providing for the immediate organization of seventeen regiments in four brigades and two divisions to fill the quota upon the requisition for three months men, but the orders provided that the force should *be enrolled for the term of two years*, unless sooner discharged. The organization of companies and regiments was that prescribed as the *minimum* in the regular army, except that the rank of second lieutenant was named ensign and assistant surgeon as surgeon's mate (and so continued to January, 1863). The unit of organization was the company, which might be accepted when the rolls had been signed by not less than thirty-two nor more than seventy-seven persons and then transmitted to the Adjutant General, who, if the inspection ordered by him was satisfactory, might accept the company and order an election of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers by the members of the accepted company. This election was necessary because the law having necessarily recognized the force as a part of the militia,* it was subject to the second section of the eleventh article of the State Constitution, which provided for the election of all company and field officers and brigadier generals. After the election the

* The U. S. Constitution contemplates the militia as a State institution and forbids any State "to keep troops in time of peace" without the consent of Congress. It is manifest that the only military force that can be authorized by a State is a part of the militia of that State.

accepted company was ordered to one of the three military depots and the officers of any six or more companies, not exceeding ten, assembled at any depot, and indicating the choice of the same persons as field officers could hold an election for the same, who being commissioned would be put in command.

The issue of the orders caused a general excitement throughout the State and recruiting was started in every county by active men aspiring to become commissioned officers. At the capitol at Albany there was a constant concourse of interested men from every part of the State, anxious to encourage or advise, or to procure commissions or the acceptance of companies on their own account or on behalf of friends. The Adjutant General's quarters were enlarged by adding the adjacent room, used as the Assembly Library, and a corps of clerks was employed to undertake the new and enlarging affairs of that office. Adjutant General Read was a man of good Philadelphia parentage who had married an Albany lady of wealth. He had an excellent education and had been prominent in local political matters as a leader of the Republican "Wide-awakes" the previous autumn. He would have made a fair officer in the piping times of peace, but the sudden exigencies of 1861 were too much for his capacity, mental or physical. His assistant, Colonel Duncan Campbell, was an indolent man who declined any part in the new work, addicting himself entirely to the old militia routine matters. General Read was industrious and zealous, and had as an official adviser Captain Edmund Schriver,* of Troy, and

* Edmund Schriver was a native of Pennsylvania; graduated from West Point in the class of 1833 and was assigned to the Second Artillery. In 1838 he was appointed captain and assistant adjutant-general. Four years later he was commissioned captain in the Second Artillery, where he remained until July 31, 1846, when he resigned. From '47 to '52 he was treasurer of the Saratoga & Washington

late captain of the Second Artillery and Assistant Adjutant General, United States Army, who had resigned. Captain Schriver on May 13th was made an aide-de-camp of the Governor *vice* Colonel Edwin D. Morgan, Jr., resigned. Later Major Lorenzo Sitgreaves,* United States Topographical Engineers, became attached to the headquarters as an adviser. Some aid was also received from Captain Frank Wheaton, First U. S. Cavalry, on duty at Albany as recruiting officer.†

Railroad Company, now a part of the Delaware & Hudson system, and from '47 to '61 he was treasurer of the Saratoga & Schenectady Railroad Company and of the Rensselaer & Saratoga. He was president of the Rensselaer & Saratoga Railroad Company from '51 to '61. At the outbreak of the war he was appointed by Governor Morgan as an aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel. May 14, 1861, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Eleventh United States infantry and a year later was transferred to the staff with the rank of colonel. March 13, 1863, he was commissioned inspector-general and participated in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, being deputized by General Meade to carry to the War Department thirty-one battle flags and other trophies from that field. He was brevetted as brigadier-general and major-general of the United States army for meritorious and distinguished services. He was retired January 4, 1881, and died in Washington, D. C., February 10, 1899.

*Lorenzo Sitgreaves was a native of Pennsylvania. He graduated from West Point in the class of 1832, and served several years in the First artillery; he was out of the service two years; reappointed second lieutenant of topographical engineers in 1838, served through the Mexican War with distinguished credit; was mustering officer at Albany at the outbreak of hostilities, but was transferred to the west, where he remained until July 10, 1866, when he was retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of engineers. Died May 14, 1888, at Washington, D. C., aged 78 years.

† Captain Wheaton was the son-in-law of Col. Samuel Cooper, Adjutant-General of the U. S. Army, who on the outbreak of hostilities resigned that position to accept the similar one in the Confederate army. Col. Cooper was the son-in-law of the Confederate agent, ex-U. S. Senator Mason (Virginia), who, with his associate, ex-U. S. Senator Slidell (Louisiana), being on his way to England on the British passenger steamer, the Trent, was forcibly taken from it by Capt. Wilkes, commanding the U. S. steamer San Jacinto, and conveyed to Boston. The disavowal of this act by our government prevented the declaration of war by England.

Captain Wheaton was born in Providence, R. I., May 8, 1833. He was educated as a civil engineer and was occupied in California and in the Mexi-

The three depots were put under command of brigadier generals of the militia: General Charles Yates at New York, General John F. Rathbone at Albany and General Robert B. Van Valkenburgh at Elmira.* These officers were provided with ample staffs for all purposes of administration. The headquarters of the Quartermaster General were at Albany and his department was represented at New York by General Chester A. Arthur, Engineer-in-Chief, and at Elmira by Captain Charles C. B. Walker. There being no commissary officers in the militia organization in those days, the commissariat was administered by the Quartermaster General's department.

In every part of the State there was an excitement and bustle such as never had been known. Personal ambition and local pride and rivalry added their stimulus to the painfully vague promptings of patriotism. For the first time in half a century this sentiment was strongly aroused; we had been proud of our country's attractions, wealth and progress and aggressively sensitive to all criticism of our resources, government, society, manners, etc.; but safe from foreign assault and in the conceit of our omnipotence and immutability, our love of country had only a superficial expression and we knew neither its depth nor strength. There was much of pathos in the almost impotent rage of this passion when it was suddenly

can boundary service from 1850 until he was appointed first lieutenant of the United States Cavalry, March 3, 1855. In July, 1861, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Second Rhode Island Volunteers, and as such participated in all the early engagements of the Army of the Potomac, until his promotion to the command of a division of the Sixth corps, and as such saw much active service in the Shenandoah Valley. For gallant and meritorious services at the Opequon, Fishers Hill and Middletown, Va., he received several brevets, including that of major-general. In July, 1866, he was presented with a sword by his native State for gallant services in the battle of the Wilderness, Cedar Creek and Petersburg. He was retired the 8th of May, 1897, as major-general of the United States Army.

*See Appendix B.

aroused by the assault upon Fort Sumter; the reverberations of those guns sent a tremor to every true heart in the North and crystallized there the diluted and solvent sentiment of patriotism. Men, women and children with feverish ardor sought some means of expressing this newly roused passion which for a while overwhelmed all other feelings and interests. The starry flag of the Union was everywhere displayed and within a week or two every yard of bunting of appropriate hues in the country was exhausted. The old familiar airs, "Yankee Doodle", "Hail Columbia", etc., had a new and thrilling significance that brought tears to the eye and tremors to the voice. But all this enthusiasm and exaltation lacked the depth, the sincerity and tenacity that defeat, deferred hope, suffering, death and affliction subsequently breathed into it. The first ebullitions of patriotic fervor were somewhat frothy, and as will be hereafter noted it affected the character of the first levies of troops from this State.

The board of State officers advertised for proposals to furnish uniforms and equipments which were to accord with those prescribed by the State regulations for the militia. It consisted of a jacket of dark army-blue cloth, cut to flow from the waist and to fall four inches below the belt; trousers of light army-blue cloth; overcoat of same, patterned after that of the United States Infantry; a fatigue cap of dark blue cloth, with a waterproof cover having a cape attached; two flannel shirts; two pair of flannel drawers; two pair of woolen socks, one pair of stout cowhide pegged shoes and one double Mackinac blanket.

The first opportunity that the women found for a practical display of their patriotic ardor was in making a gratuitous addition to this uniform in the shape of a white linen cap-cover with large cape attached falling over the shoulders. Such a headgear had

been used by the English troops in India and was called a "Have-lock" after that celebrated general. It was thought our boys would need them under the fervid rays of the Southern sun, and sewing societies were organized that soon produced an ample supply, but I do not think they were much used by our troops. The women soon found an occupation more necessary, if less pleasant, in the preparation of lint and bandages for use in field and hospital.

The sudden demands by both general and state governments for military supplies soon exhausted the stocks on hand and much difficulty was met in procuring uniforms and blankets. Messrs. Brooks Brothers of New York city made a contract to furnish 12,000 sets of uniforms, consisting of jacket, trousers and overcoat, at \$19.50 per uniform. In filling this contract and finding the supply of army kerseys exhausted, they substituted other materials which proved in active service to be so inferior that great complaints were made and much scandal arose. It was at this time that we began to apprehend the meaning of the word "shoddy" which had recently come in vogue. It appeared that the 7,300 poor uniforms had been made of gray satinete of poor quality and the garments had been shabbily trimmed and sewn. The Military Board wrestled with this matter for some time and made formal inquiries that disclosed great indifference on the part of the contractors. It was further shown that four citizens of New York, of high character for integrity, who were selected by General Arthur to inspect these uniforms, namely, Wilson G. Hunt, George Opdyke, Charles Buckingham and John Gray, had given certificates of inspection after a most cursory and inadequate examination. The result was that Brooks Brothers furnished 2,350 additional uniforms to make good their deficiencies. The contracts made by the Military Board for army supplies gave cause for some scandals regarding the State

Treasurer, Dorsheimer, and Attorney General, Myers. Amid the mass of rumors and objurgations regarding the matter I never saw any reason to doubt the honesty of these officers. The desire to push the troops forward, the dearth of suitable materials and the general inexperience of all concerned would account for many defects without recourse to impugning personal motives. Nevertheless these stories seriously injured the reputation of the officers named.

There was great difficulty also in obtaining good blankets, and some of the specimens submitted were ridiculous mixtures of the coarsest wool, shoddy, hemp and cotton—I recall some that were actually dangerous as a source of slivers in handling. I brought to Albany as a sample a pair of five-pound blankets used by my wife and self on “the Plains” the previous year, but the contractors said they were unapproachable in quality in the market.

There was not much trouble in obtaining the other clothing, or the leather accoutrements, and camp equipage, but the question of proper arms was a very troublesome one. Those that the United States had gradually accumulated in its arsenals had been slyly transported to the Southern States by the late Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, an ardent secessionist. The output of our armories, public and private, was then comparatively small—indeed one of the former at Harpers Ferry, Va., was dismantled in June, having been in the hands of the rebels since April. It was evident that recourse to the European arsenals would become necessary, and agents were sent thither by the general and state governments to purchase muskets, and speculators also repaired thither to control if possible these needful weapons and “corner the market”. It was not a very creditable enterprise—this trading upon the necessities of an imperilled fatherland—but the man who has the money-making

instinct generally slakes his *auri sacra fames* without scruples. All through the war there was no quality that exceeded in intensity the avidity of the military contractor, whether dealing in materials or men. Some of these private transactions in arms resulted in great public scandals, notably one connected with supplies to troops in Missouri in 1861, and they certainly were a boon to foreign nations in clearing their arsenals of antiquated and condemned weapons. New York escaped these scandals and bad bargains; so early as the 24th of April an arrangement was made to send Mr. Jacob R. Schuyler of the firm of Schuyler, Hartley & Graham (of New York) to Europe to purchase 25,000 stands of arms. Governor Morgan wrote at the same time to Lord Palmerston, then the British *premier*, asking him under the existing conditions of affairs in this country to sanction the purchases Mr. Schuyler was authorized to make. The refreshing simplicity of this letter is a notable illustration of our ignorance and anxiety in those first days of warfare. Lord Palmerston doubtless consigned the letter to the wastebasket and conceived Governor Morgan's avoidance of our minister at the court of St. James as an evidence that the principle of "State rights" was quite as orthodox in the Northern as in the Southern States. Under this arrangement Mr. Schuyler purchased for the State nineteen thousand Enfield muskets which were issued to the two years regiments. About the same date of the letter to Lord Palmerston an application was made to Governor General Head of Canada for leave to purchase Minié rifles there, who answered that he was prohibited by law from allowing arms and accoutrements to be taken out of that Province.

One of the minor incidents of this early period was the excitement at Troy over the discovery that a man, named F. W. Parmenter, in that city was making a bullet machine upon the improved

ordnance patterns used at the United States Arsenal at Watervliet, N. Y., where Parmenter had been previously employed. Upon the rumor that he was a "traitor" and was making the machine for the use of the rebels, a committee of citizens took possession of it and the matter was brought before the Governor and his associates. After much investigation it was concluded that Parmenter was innocent of treason and his machine was purchased by the State for \$1,700 and subsequently offered to the United States. I cannot now recall its ultimate disposition.

Although it was intended that the thirty-eight regiments raised under the State law should all be organized as infantry, some arrangements were made under the advice and direction of Major Richard Delafield, United States Engineers, to procure for the State some rifled Parrott field pieces, and sixteen such were finally received and I believe are still in the State arsenals, having never been in service. There were some ambitious young men who desired authority to raise cavalry regiments, but this was refused.

The recruiting throughout the State was very active, and so soon as the proper number were gathered at any point, being not less than thirty-two nor more than seventy-seven persons, they were inspected by order of the Adjutant General, usually by some militia officers, under whose supervision was held an election of the company officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and with rolls and elections duly certified, the company was given transportation to the nearest of the three general depots. In the enthusiastic feeling of the day, the Hudson River Railroad proposed to carry all the State troops free and other roads proposed a considerable abatement from the usual fares. Later this ardor was supplanted by strictly business views, but under the orders of the War Department a maximum rate of two cents per recruit per mile was fixed. As will be hereafter shown, this rate was reduced in one instance.

Upon arrival at the depots, these companies were sent to the respective barracks; at Albany these consisted of a large brick building in the southwestern suburbs of the city, originally built for an industrial school, and to which were added sundry wooden structures. The old city soon assumed the aspect of a garrisoned town; companies were arriving by trains or boat daily and proceeding in ordinary garb and unarmed but preceded by drum and fife, they passed to the front of the Capitol, and being there reviewed by the Adjutant General or some member of the Military Board, marched thence to the barracks. These finally proved to be inadequate, and my first official duty on May 28th was to select a camp for two regiments; after a survey to the north of the city, where nothing suitable was found, a choice was made of a plot on the land of a Mr. William E. Haswell, three miles south of the city,* and under the direction of General Patrick, assisted by the diagram in the United States Army Regulations, I succeeded in laying out the camp in excellent shape, being aided by my experience as engineer. The Sixteenth and Twenty-eighth Regiments were camped here for a short period and were the only ones at Albany ever under canvas. But it did not need tents to remind us of the great strife before us; the usually quiet streets were enlivened by soldiers on leave and officers, bright in fresh uniforms and bearing themselves with the air of heroes. A constant throng of visitors poured in and out of the Capitol intent upon every shade of interest, personal or public.

Governor Morgan was then in his prime; a man of great bodily vigor, a sound judgment, of large business experience and also in public administration, being then in his third year as Governor. At this period he was hampered by the act that conferred joint powers in raising troops upon several officers besides himself, and it was

* On what was known as the upper river road in the town of Bethlehem.

not until later that he was enabled to display to the best advantage his rare executive ability. Though Governor Morgan was more able as a politician than as a statesman, he possessed those business qualifications that were most useful in his position in those disturbed and distressful times. Much of interest and value and also much of twaddle has been written about the "War Governors", but it is undeniable that success in the great contest for the Union depended very largely upon the ability and disposition of the men at the head of the State governments when that contest began. In the value of the services thus rendered Governor Morgan was second to none.

On April 18th Major Marsena R. Patrick, President of the State Agricultural College at Ovid, came to Albany at the Governor's request and consented to act as general supervisor of disbursements and auditor of accounts payable from the fund of \$3,000,000. (Chap. 277, Laws of 1861.) He was a graduate of the West Point Academy in 1835 and had served in the Florida and Mexican wars, having been in the latter contest chief commissary officer on General Wool's staff. He was a man of great firmness and integrity of character, well versed in military affairs and having friendly personal relations with all the army officers. He had resigned from the army and been engaged in other business for about ten years. His advice in regard to the propriety of purchases on military account, form of vouchers and their proper certification and on all matters concerning the equipment of troops was invaluable. My father was assigned as an expert accountant to assist General Patrick about May 1st and I was engaged as an additional clerk on May 27th. Upon my father's resignation on August 15th to become a paymaster in the army, I succeeded as auditor of military accounts, serving as such until January 1, 1869, and thus becoming acquainted with all matters connected with the raising of troops in the State of New York during the whole war.

General William A. Jackson having resigned the position of Inspector General to take the colonelcy of the Eighteenth Regiment Infantry, New York State Volunteers, Major Patrick was appointed to the vacancy on May 17th.

Although seventeen regiments would fill the President's requisition on the State, there was no thought of relaxing efforts to raise all of the thirty-eight authorized by the law. So early as April 22d Governor Morgan proposed to the "Military Board" that the full complement of 30,000 troops named in the law be organized at once, saying "it was no time to delay organization until the enemy is at our door", and his motion was unanimously carried. It was however very difficult to induce the Washington Administration to recognize the excess beyond the call. Secretary Seward's opinion that the war would be closed within a few months was probably not shared by the President and the remainder of the Cabinet, still there was a great reluctance to accept the generous proffers of aid that came from the people and the States. It is true that these proffers were to some extent extravagant and that some were impossible of fulfillment, but the conservatism at Washington went beyond this. There was from the start a lack of confidence in the people, a fear that the burdens of the war would be deemed intolerable.* The discontent and threats of the comparatively few copperheads at the North were deemed of an alarming importance and these rebel sympathizers had the satisfaction at least of making the war cost hundreds of millions and thousands of lives on both sides that might have been spared had the Administration absolutely dis-

* The fact that the Governors were nearer to the people than the President and his official advisers in their isolation at Washington, will account in part for the greater zeal of the former in providing adequate military forces since they knew the prompt patriotic response the people would give to such demands upon them.

regarded their presumed influence. All through the war the people were far ahead of their rulers in this respect, and history exhibits no more signal instance of popular response to every appeal to patriotic endeavor than was shown by our people in those four years. The proffer of twenty-one regiments more than had been formally called for was not an illusory or irresponsible act; the regiments were authorized by a State law that provided for their enlistment, equipment and support until ready for muster into the United States service, yet two weeks of earnest importunity were required before any favorable reply from the Secretary of War could be got.

On April 29th Governor Morgan received a telegram from Governor Dennison of Ohio inviting him to a conference at Cleveland with Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, Governor Morton of Indiana and Governor Yates of Illinois, and General McClellan in command of the Ohio troops. Governor Morgan could not attend. The result of the conference was unimportant.

All through the month of May recruiting continued quite lively. On the 1st the enlistment rolls of four Canadian companies were received, but which could not be accepted. The lack of competent instructors in drill and tactics led to an application to Secretary Cameron that the highest class of cadets at West Point be assigned for such purpose; but though the regular time of graduation of this class was anticipated, the members were assigned immediately to active service in the field.

There now arose another disagreeable and prolonged controversy with the War Department. The call of the President of May 3d indicated three years as the term of enlistment, while the State law had provided for a term of two years, but the Secretary of War on May 3d accepted the whole force of thirty-eight regiments for two years. Three days later the Secretary telegraphed that three-years

men were wanted, and on the 15th wrote that it had been his intention on the 3d to accept twenty-eight and not thirty-eight regiments and thus the whole controversy was reopened. Governor Morgan again represented the peculiarity of these regiments, raised, equipped and sustained under a State law and pointed out the great damage to the Union cause should it become necessary to disband ten regiments and have the State lose the moneys expended on them. It was not until June 12th that a definite order was given by Secretary Cameron to Colonel Wm. B. Franklin* to muster in these regiments for two years. This long uncertainty caused many complications, some of which may be mentioned beyond, and one of them was the popular confusion concerning the respective military jurisdictions of the general and State governments and the weakening of the authority of the latter. Among the regiments organized under the State law

* General William B. Franklin was appointed to West Point from Pennsylvania and graduated number one in the celebrated class of 1843, which contained such representative men as General Grant, Father Deshon, Generals William F. Reynolds, Isaac F. Quinby, John J. Peck, Joseph J. Reynolds, James A. Hardie, Henry F. Clark, Christopher C. Augur, Joseph H. Potter, Charles S. Hamilton, Frederick Steele, Rufus Ingalls, Frederick T. Dent and Roswell S. Ripley. He served through the Mexican war as lieutenant of engineers, and as superintending engineer had charge of the extension of the Capitol at Washington, including the new dome, until the outbreak of the Rebellion, when he was appointed colonel of the ~~Second~~ ^{Twelfth} Infantry and immediately thereafter brigadier-general of volunteers, May 17, 1861. He was engaged in the battle of Bull Run and held commands in the vicinity of Washington and its defenses until the spring of 1862, when he was placed in command of a division of General McClellan's Army of the Potomac, and was promoted to command of the Sixth Army Corps, and as such participated in the combat at West Point May 8, 1862, action at Goldings Farm June 28th, battles of White Oak Bridge, Savage Station, Malvern Hill. July 4, 1862, he was appointed major-general United States Volunteers, and took part in the battles of Cramptons Gap, South Mountain, September 14, 1862, Antietam September 17, 1862, and Fredericksburg, where he commanded the left grand division consisting of the First and Sixth corps. Immediately after the battle of Fredericksburg General Franklin was selected as one of the victims for the failure of that disastrous affair. Burnside claimed that a number of his generals, who were strong friends of General McClellan, had

was the Eleventh Infantry, known as the "Fire Zouaves" and commanded by Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, who had attracted some attention the previous year by the exhibition of a Chicago company drilled by him in what he called the "Zouave" tactics, introducing some novel acrobatic feats quite interesting to view, but of little real military value. Our journals had often contained articles concerning the French Zouave troops, their picturesque uniform, courage and *élan* in battle, and *insouciance* and deviltry amounting almost to insubordination. Great interest had been taken in Captain Ellsworth's exhibitions, and in the ignorance of the day he was accounted such a military genius that he had no trouble in rapidly recruiting a regiment in New York city, particularly from among that mass of reckless dare-devils who largely composed the volunteer fire corps of that day. These were habited in one of the brilliant, picturesque and

not given him proper support, and on this frivolous and whimsical accusation General Franklin was relieved of command and for a time discredited by the national administration. He was then transferred to the southwestern department and took part in the expedition of Sabine Pass; he was in command of the Nineteenth Army Corps and of the troops in Western Louisiana from August 16, 1863, to April 29, 1864; participated in the Red River expedition and the battle of Sabine Cross Roads April 8, 1864, where he was wounded. From April 29 to December 2, 1864, he was on sick leave, but when on his way to Washington in order to obtain a command from his old classmate, General Grant, he was captured by rebel raiders at Gun Powder Creek between Philadelphia and Baltimore, but escaped the next night, July 12, 1864. He was president of the board for retired and disabled officers from December 2, 1864. He was breveted major-general of the United States Army for gallant and meritorious services in the field during the rebellion. He resigned from the volunteer service November 10, 1865, and from the regular army March, 1866, having been appointed vice-president and general agent of the Colts Fire-Arm Manufacturing Company of Hartford, Conn., a position which he still retains. From January 1, 1877, to December 31, 1878, he was Adjutant-General of the State of Connecticut. Since July 8, 1880, he has been president of the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. He was appointed commissioner-general of the United States for the International Exposition at Paris, October 20, 1889, and later became grand officer of the French Legion of Honor.

preposterous garbs that were so attractive during the first year of the war. This regiment elected its officers and proceeded to Washington without orders from the Governor as Commander-in-Chief, and it required much vigilance to restrain further endeavors to ignore State authority.

The predilection for gaudy and unusual styles of uniform did not last long and during the second and succeeding years of the war the plain, serviceable and inconspicuous light and dark-blue kersey clothing was adopted without demur.

The decision of the government to accept troops for a period not less than three years bore heavily upon certain of our militia regiments that had been delayed in their equipment or in their recruiting to full ranks. These regiments expected to be accepted for three months on the same terms as those mentioned on page 12, but the rapid organization of volunteer regiments made it inexpedient to accept any short term troops. Our Second, Ninth, Fourteenth and Seventy-ninth regiments of militia reached Washington too late to be included in the call of April 15th and they were mustered into service "for the war", which was subsequently construed as for three years. These regiments were renamed as the Eighty-second, Eighty-third, Eighty-fourth and Seventy-ninth Regiments Infantry, New York State Volunteers. Their unexpected extension of service was very embarrassing to many of the privates and non-commissioned officers, who left homes and business with the expectation of a three months' absence only. My youngest brother had enlisted as a private in the Ninth Militia, presumptively for that short period and was quite disconcerted to find himself bound to serve "for the war".

The military forces of the United States had been limited to the regular army and to the militia and so continued up to March, 1863.

The volunteers were considered a part of the militia; the two years' regiments from New York were expressly designated as militia in the law that authorized their organization. They were thus subject to the provisions of the United States Constitution "reserving to the States the appointment of the officers" of the militia. By the Constitution of the State of New York all company, field and general officers below the rank of major-general were elective, the major-generals being appointed by the Governor. In times of peace this method of selection is not very objectionable; the officers are usually elected from those having some experience in the service, and if this is lacking they obtain it after election without any great risk to the general welfare or to the comfort and safety of their commands. It is also probable that this democratic method of selection is essential to the very existence of our organized militia in the form of uniformed companies and regiments. It was not however a successful method in these thirty-eight regiments, except as aiding their rapid recruiting and as not introducing any new principle at a time when it was deemed of prime importance not to shock public sentiment in the slightest degree. The officers elected were not examined as to competency or conditioned in any respect; they were commissioned without question. The result was that about two-thirds of these officers failed to serve their full term of two years, having been discharged or having resigned in the meantime; at least one-third of them resigned within the first six months. These results were not wholly attributable to the mere fact of election; the qualities that are most efficient in recruiting soldiers are generally those least desirable in their commanders. The good nature, sociable, easy manners, good-fellowship and other such traits as attract the great mass of mankind are generally incompatible with the power to enforce subordination and discipline. This failure in

active service of those officers most successful in recruiting was not confined to these early regiments but obtained in all the subsequent levies where commissions were conferred upon inexperienced men who had simply recruited the requisite number of privates. Of course the least qualified of these officers, sooner or later, "dropped out" in the field, but it was an expensive process in many ways. While such officers did remain in command their men suffered through their inefficiency, and the injurious results continued in force after they had resigned or been discharged. To the foreign critic the greatest defect in our volunteer armies was the laxity of discipline and it is doubtful if this were wholly counterbalanced by the higher intelligence or motives of our troops as compared with those of European armies.

Not only were these unversed officers unable to properly discipline, drill and instruct their men, or to conduct and manœuvre them in the field, but with few exceptions they were ignorant as to all matters touching the health and comfort of the men under their charge. There were among their number, men who had had some training or had the ability to quickly acquire the requisite knowledge and to enforce military discipline, and as the "law of survival, etc.," operated these were recognized, promoted or transferred to other commands. From these thirty-eight regiments about twenty brigadier generals were selected and some of these again promoted to be major generals.

In harmony with the general plan adopted, General John A. Dix had been appointed major general and on May 17th a General Order (No. 41) was issued by Adjutant General Read, organizing the First Division of State Volunteers under command of General Dix, to consist of two brigades and directing General Dix to hold an election for brigadier general of each brigade by the field officers

therein respectively. This brought about a distinct collision between the State and General Government, in which the former had the right and the latter the victory. There can be no doubt but that all the volunteers accepted from the States were so accepted as militia, and that as such the appointment of their officers was reserved to the States and so exercised as to regimental officers up to the end of the war. There can be no doubt but that the authority of appointment reserved to the States extended to general officers also. It was however seen at an early day that this was one of the points where strict adherence to the text of the Constitution must give way to the supreme safety of the nation. All through the war it was apparent that there must be a certain elasticity of construction and perhaps a certain disregard of the text of the Constitution, if the union of the States was to be preserved. It was fortunate that the cases where such a strain was necessary were very few, since infrequent as they were they gave a coherence to the hollow and despicable clamor of the "Copperheads" during the struggle, and have since encouraged a tendency toward centralization in our governmental system that is fraught with evil possibilities.

It was evident that if the troops of each State were organized into brigades and divisions commanded by generals elected by these constituencies and commissioned by the State authority, the control of them by the general administration would be seriously weakened. The several armies instead of being each a compacted force would represent mere localities, while the jealousies and rivalries between the several brigades and divisions would be shared by their respective States and counteract the closer union that the war was conducting to. There would have been repeated the weakness of the allied armies of the old German Empire, when a score of potentates furnished their distinct quotas. In general orders from the War

Department issued May 4th, giving the plan of organization of the volunteer forces called into the service of the United States by the President, it was announced that the general officers and their staffs (except aides-de-camp) would be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. This assumption of authority caused much discussion and even alarm on the part of patriotic men, who feared that it was the precursor of such encroachments by the central government as would in the end destroy our federal system as originally constructed under the Constitution. The vast increase of patronage by the President was also represented and by some it was held that the States would resent such a deprivation of their constitutional rights. On the other hand some attempts were made to show that the volunteers were not a part of the militia and therefore that the constitutional reservation to the States did not apply to their officers. I was much interested in this discussion and finally became convinced that these troops were a part of the militia; the Constitution gives Congress the power "to raise and support armies" and "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," and these are the only powers granted to the United States in regard to land forces. The violation of the laws of the Union and the insurrection by the Southern States strongly indicated a resort to the militia, and the result was that while the increase of the regular army was almost inappreciable, there were millions of volunteer militiamen engaged in suppressing the rebellion. The very fact that the appointment of all regimental officers was left with the States indicates the nature of the force. It was plainly an exigency when the rigid lines of the Constitution had to swerve in the interests of self preservation. There was now quoted the old axiom, soon to become trite, "*inter arma silent leges.*"

The Governor had appointed as major generals of the State volunteers, John A. Dix and James S. Wadsworth, and Lieutenant Governor Campbell was sent to Washington to procure their recognition, but the President through Secretary Cameron, announced his irrevocable determination to appoint general officers, and not to accept troops under any other conditions.

So rapid were the enlistments for these first regiments that the entire number of 30,000 men was accepted within three weeks from the first call, and on May 7th the Governor issued a general order announcing such consummation and that no additional force could be accepted, and advising that "no further expenditure of time or means may be needlessly incurred by the patriotic citizens of the State in further efforts for organization." The members of the Military Board were not unanimous in approval of such an announcement. Mr. Jones, Secretary of State, insisted that in view of the probability that troops would be required beyond existing calls, it would be bad policy to discourage or disband any organizations, and that it was not wise to weaken any patriotic endeavor. However, these irregular organizations were being recruited without the authority of the State, and the Board felt compelled to discountenance them. They were subsequently a source of much trouble to the State and Federal administrations.

Before all of the two-years regiments reached the field, there were two tragical events in which some of them were concerned. Some allusion was made on page 29 to the Eleventh Regiment, known as the Fire Zouaves, commanded by Colonel Ellsworth. This regiment being on May 24th at Alexandria, Va., Colonel Ellsworth directed one Jackson to take down from the staff on top of his hotel a secession flag flying there, and not being obeyed, the Colonel went himself to haul it down and was shot by Jackson and

immediately avenged by his men, who riddled the assassin with bullets. Ellsworth was the first victim of the war, and his body was conveyed with much ceremony for burial at his father's home at Mechanicville, N. Y. Although much was popularly expected of him, he was simply a drill-master, and so far as fame is concerned was fortunate in his early death, but that event made a marked impression that the war was a stern reality. This impression was deepened by the unfortunate affair at Big Bethel, Va., on June 10th, where the First, Second, Third, Fifth and Seventh Regiments, New York Volunteers, were prominently engaged. General Butler, in command of the Union forces at Newport News, had intended to surprise the rebels under General Magruder, and the New York regiments were put in motion before daybreak, when there occurred such a calamity as might have been expected from troops and officers so green. The Seventh Regiment, under Colonel Bendix, coming upon the Third under Colonel Townsend in the dawn, mistook it for a rebel force and fired upon it, killing several men and wounding more. This *fiasco* gave the alarm to the enemy and so upset the Union plans that the subsequent attack was not only a failure but a signal disaster. Among the killed were Major Theodore Winthrop,* New York Volunteers, acting on General Butler's staff, and a young author of great promise, and Lieutenant John T. Greble,† Second Regiment, United States

* Theodore Winthrop was born in New Haven, Conn., September 22, 1828. He graduated from Yale 1848, and the following year went to Europe, where he remained until 1851. He was admitted to the bar in 1855. Then visited California and Oregon and made a survey of a canal road across the Isthmus of Panama. In the campaign of 1856 he was an ardent and eloquent Fremont orator. Before the war he had established his reputation as an author, but at the outbreak of hostilities he enlisted in the Seventh New York. For a time he acted as military secretary to General B. F. Butler, with whom he planned the attack on Little and Big Bethel, at the latter of which he lost his life while rallying his men June 10, 1861.

† John T. Greble was a native of Pennsylvania. He graduated from the military academy in 1854 and was assigned to the Second Artillery and as

Artillery. Although the whole affair in its dimensions and casualties was a mere skirmish compared with the great battles to come, it was in that early day an engagement of the first importance and the deaths of the two estimable young men above mentioned brought a chill to many a home where the son had put on the blue uniform or was preparing to do so. It gave a shocking realism to a contest that so far had been an ebullition of excitement without the dark shadow of sudden death on the battlefield to overcast it. It was the reaction from this that made us magnify the successes of General McClellan in the western part of Virginia, which, however important in themselves or as inspiring our hopes, were not such guarantees of military qualities as were assumed.

By the end of June the thirty-eight regiments authorized by the State law were in the field; nineteen from the New York depot, nine from the Albany and ten from the Elmira depot. Their organization was that of the regular army with some tincture of the old militia forms and nomenclature. Reference has been made to the term "ensign" for second lieutenant; the assistant regimental surgeon was termed "surgeon's mate;" both these were afterwards given the regular title. Surgeon General Samuel O. Vander Poel exhibited high administrative qualities, both in regard to the examination of recruits and their sanitary conditions in barracks, and also in the selection of surgeons and their mates. Of course through inexperience these matters fell short of what was subsequently accomplished. Less than thirty-seven per cent of the medical officers of these regiments resigned or were discharged before the end of their terms, a very favorable contrast with the other commissioned officers.

first lieutenant covered the retreat of our defeated troops with the fire of his own battery at Big Bethel. He was killed June 10, 1861, aged 27 years. For the service he rendered in this engagement he was brevetted captain, major and lieutenant-colonel.

Each regiment was entitled to a chaplain, and all but one or two took one to the field, though many did not retain them. It was a fact that some of these chaplains were frauds, not being even ordained ministers, but rollicking acquaintances of the officers or newspaper reporters who sought this easy and well paid position in order to have favorable opportunities for reportorial observation.

Each regiment also had a paymaster to pay the troops and officers while in the State service and not accompanying them to the field. Paymaster General Thomas B. Van Buren was not a good business manager and the pay-rolls were the most confusing and difficult of the vouchers that I examined.

Considering all things, I think the supplies for these troops were of fair quality, and their commissariat while in barracks was well selected and managed. I kept at general headquarters a running account of military property, crediting the contractors with all deliveries to the quartermaster and ordnance departments, and those departments with their issues to the troops. There was great difficulty in having all these issues conducted in accordance with the army regulations, which were unknown and even unattainable to the great mass of officers concerned. In the subsequent adjustment of accounts between the State and general governments many defects and omissions in the forms had to be disregarded.

Though neither John A. Dix nor James S. Wadsworth, who had been appointed by the Governor as major generals of these troops, was recognized as such by the United States authorities, General Dix was appointed major general of volunteers with rank from May 16th by the President, and General Wadsworth* was appointed a

* James Samuel Wadsworth was born at Geneseo, N. Y., October 30, 1807. He was educated at Harvard and studied at the Albany Law School, com-

brigadier general of volunteers with rank from August 9th, so that both these accomplished gentlemen entered the active service.

I had official opportunities to acquaint myself with the character of all the successive levies for the service made in New York and found them naturally affected in character by the changing conditions and spirit of the times. These first regiments were raised during the foaming excitement of the early days when it was generally thought that the war would be concluded within a few months, and its serious aspects of privation, discomfort, danger, suffering and death were scarcely contemplated. It was to be a picnic on a grand scale, with brass buttons, tinsel, silk banners and music to enliven it, and the fun to be hallowed by its patriotic purpose. The adventurous and frolicsome were attracted while the apparently temporary needs of the country did not demand any

pleting his course with Daniel Webster. He never practiced his profession, however, but devoted his time exclusively to the management of his vast estates in Livingston county, which amounted to 15,000 acres. In 1852 he was elected president of the State Agricultural Society, with which up to the time of his death he was conspicuously identified. He supported the Free Soil party in 1848, but was a presidential elector on the Republican ticket 1856 and 1860. He was a delegate to the peace convention in Washington in 1861, and at the beginning of the war was one of the first men who was willing to surrender the comforts of a luxurious home to the deprivations and sufferings of the field. When communication with Washington was suspended, he chartered two ships at his own expense, loaded them with provisions and accompanied them to Annapolis. He was at the battle of Bull Run as volunteer aide to General McDowell. March 15, 1862, he was appointed military governor of the District of Columbia. That fall he was the unsuccessful candidate for Governor of New York, nominated by the Republicans. He took part in the battle of Fredericksburg as a division commander and displayed great military judgment. At Gettysburg his division was the first to engage the enemy and his losses aggregated 2,400 out of 4,000 men. He was one of the few generals who voted in favor of pursuing the enemy after Pickett's disastrous charge on the 3d of July. On the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac he was assigned to the command of the fourth division of the Fifth Corps, which constituted part of his old command. May 6, 1864, at the battle of the Wilderness, he was shot in the head and lingered for two days.

sacrifice from the steady and thoughtful men, who had other responsibilities upon them. There were some few who, foreseeing the deadly character, if not the duration of the strife, put aside all business, social and domestic claims and entered the ranks or accepted commissions in April and May, 1861. The greater number, however, did not expect or were not prepared for the stern ordeal of defeat, delay, suspense and painful toil that awaited them. But when these regiments were later subjected to drill and to the discharge of everyday duties and were seasoned by skirmishes and battles, by victories and defeats, they rendered good service and sustained the honor of the State.

When the levy was completed there was a large number of enlisted men in detached companies and other fragmentary organizations throughout the State, which subsequently became part of the second levy, though the actual recruitment should be credited to the first levy.

No. 2.

SECOND LEVY—JULY 1, 1861, TO MARCH 31, 1862.

BY the 1st of July all of the thirty-eight regiments raised under the State law had been mustered into the United States service and had been despatched to the seat of war. There remained the settlement of many accounts for materials and service, and these under the general direction of General Patrick were carefully audited and paid mostly within a month's time. The Military Board continued its sessions, which were largely engrossed by attempts to fix or evade the responsibility for the inferior uniforms accepted under the contracts. As before said, I have never believed that any of the members of this Board or any other State officers were corrupt in these transactions. The failure to secure the best clothing, etc., may be fairly attributed to the extent of the purchases, the hurried manner of their initiation and completion and the almost absolute inexperience of all concerned in them. To this may be added the divided and personally vague responsibility of a cumbrous board which the Legislature had constituted through that jealousy of the "one-man power" of the Executive which has been so characteristic in our State governments. Within the board itself this jealousy raged and did further public injury. It was evident that certain military authorities could be far better exercised by the Governor alone as commander-in-chief than by

this motley board, but on several occasions resolutions to confer such authority upon him were voted down. It is not strange that of the members of that board the Governor alone retained his political influence.

About the middle of the month, Attorney General Myers and Treasurer Dorsheimer, as a committee of the board, visited the regiments about Washington and reported certain deficiencies in equipment which were repaired.

I can recall vividly those three first weeks in July which followed our engrossment in military preparation. There was nothing very exciting going on in the field; General McClellan continued his several successes in Virginia and defeated the rebels in an engagement at Carricks Ford on July 12, thus clearing Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. These events were cheerful, but their larger importance was in the establishment of McClellan's fame that led to his subsequent promotion as general-in-chief. The concentration of troops about Washington under General McDowell was the most significant event, and we now believed that city safe and the suppression of the rebellion certainly at hand. Our Albany officials were mostly strong partisans of Secretary Seward and probably imbibed his optimistic opinion that the contest would not exceed a few months. We underlings, whose retention in service depended upon continued hostilities, met in the Adjutant-General's office in those summer evenings and discussed the probabilities of early dismissal and the need of searching for employment. Daily in my own office in the southeastern corner of the second story of that old capitol I sat by the windows looking out upon the trees and lawn, meditating what means of livelihood I should adopt when the brief rebellion collapsed. I was a type of so many others soon to be stricken and shocked.

The papers began now to announce the early movement of our army upon the force of rebels massed a few miles west of Washington, commanded by General Beauregard. I have mentioned that these first levies of troops contained some light material, the scum of patriotic ferment, the adventurous and thoughtless who viewed the contest as an exciting picnic. So now we heard of the Congressmen and others who were going to accompany our army in carriages, supplied with lunch baskets and wine, as if on a pleasure jaunt. What indeed could be more satisfactory and pleasurable than to see our valiant troops "bag" these ill-advised rebels? What could resist our army panoplied in the majesty of the Union, the power of the Right, the invincibility of Freedom? The war correspondents with glowing phrase—alas so soon to become trite and inexpressive—depicted the advance of the army on July 16th, accompanied by its hordes of non-combatants, moving slowly as became its stateliness, its irresistible power. Since May 27th, when placed in command, General McDowell had been disciplining his troops as best he could, though as the larger portion had reached him within four weeks before his advance, the drilling had been meagre. We, however, had such absolute confidence in our cause that any such lack of preparation seemed very trivial. Day by day the papers gave us the picturesque incidents of the march with flattering prognostications of victory. Even our news on the morning of Monday the 22d was very encouraging, but about noon of that day dispatches reached Albany first that there had been a check and then the terrible announcement of defeat—a rout—a retreat—then in an exaggeration quite as vivid as that of our invincible advance came the intelligence of disorganization and panic, of the flight towards Washington, of a demoralized mob, of intermingled "warriors" and civilians crying "the devil take the

hindmost", and of the probable capture of the capital. What an agonizing shock! At the first there was humiliation, shame, despair. We were still in the frothy sentimental stage of patriotism of those early days—quickly depressed, but fortunately as quickly recovering from the dejection. In a day or so, our thoughts were again bent on the future and the means to shape it.

Now that we look back upon the war as a whole, the significance, indeed the fitting purpose of Bull Run as the first great link in the chain of events can be recognized. The panic of our troops was no stain upon our manhood; fresh, undrilled troops, many of them with terms of service about expiring, led by regimental and company officers quite as fresh and uninstructed, did not in any proper sense make an army. We know now that the rebel troops were quite as panicky and disorganized and unable to take any advantage of the retreat of our men. The ridiculous features of that rout can now be enjoyed—the capture of the picnicking Congressmen; the early retreat of the troops whose service expired in the midst of the battle and as General McDowell reported, "marched to the rear of the sound of the enemy's cannon." Such was the cowardly feat of a New York city battery commanded by Captain James Lynch, and it is a signal evidence of the catholic charity and liberality of the Tammany party that less than four months later it elected Captain Lynch to the lucrative office of sheriff of New York city and county.

The disaster at Bull Run convinced us that a single battle would not extinguish the rebellion, and that the majesty of the right must be sustained by well organized and trained battalions. We now extended the probable term of the war from six months to a whole year.

Congress had on July 4th convened in special session ending on August 6th, the legislation being almost wholly military and finan-

cial. Provision was made for the calling of a volunteer force not to exceed five hundred thousand men, for an increase and reorganization of the regular army and for the employment of the militia upon the call of the President. The first of these acts passed July 22d, two days after the disaster at Bull Run, and under its provisions the President made an immediate call for volunteers, and Governor Morgan issued on the 25th a proclamation calling "for a volunteer force of twenty-five thousand men to serve for three years or during the war."

At this time the three-months militia from this State had either returned or were on their way home. The volunteer regiments in the field comprised the thirty-eight two-years regiments organized under the State law, the four militia regiments (Second, Ninth, Fourteenth and Seventy-ninth) that had been forced to enlist "for the war (*vide* page 30, *supra*) and eight irregularly organized regiments subsequently remanded to the State supervision, of which more anon; and three batteries of light artillery, a total force of about 40,000 men. Of this force there had been engaged at Big Bethel five of the two-years regiments (*vide* page 36, *supra*) and at Bull Run seven of the two-years regiments, viz.: the Eighth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-seventh, Thirty-first and Thirty-eighth, and one of the irregular regiments (subsequently the Thirty-ninth Infantry) were engaged, but the aggregate casualties in all these would not reduce the number on July 25th much below the 40,000 above given.

Much care was given to the preparation of the general orders for the organization of the additional regiments, in which I had a share. Fortunately the Governor was supreme now, the function of the Military Board appertaining only to the two-year troops.

General Order No. 78, issued on July 30th, provided for a regimental organization of ten companies as fixed by General Order

No. 15, U. S. Army (May 4, 1861), for the regular army. The depots of organization at New York, Albany and Elmira were continued.* When thirty-two volunteers had been inspected and accepted, they were authorized to elect by ballot a captain and lieutenant of the company, the remaining officers to be nominated when the company was completed. The field officers were to be appointed by the Governor, as commander-in-chief, and all officers had to pass a military examination before acceptance. It will be observed that so far as the company officers were concerned the plan of election by the recruits was continued. There was still a general recognition that all the volunteer troops were a part of the militia of the State. Then, too, there was the advantage that this contingency of a commission was a great incentive to recruiting, and in every instance within my observation the person who enlisted the necessary number of recruits, received their votes for the office. Recruiting was in many cases expensive; though the general government reimbursed the officers for a part of these expenses it was usually the minor part only. The declination of the general government by general orders of May 7th to receive any further troops, had discouraged recruiting in the rural districts, as also did the organization in the cities of many irregular organizations which for awhile occupied an anomalous position, their services in many cases being accepted by the United States, into whose service the enlisted men were mustered, while the officers remained without commissions. Among these regiments were those included in what was called the "Sickles' brigade," composed of five regiments raised in New York, of one of which Daniel E. Sickles was the colonel (subsequently the Seventieth Infantry), and who was appointed by the President a brigadier general on September

* See Appendix B.

3d. General Sickles and other officers connected with these regiments were contemptuous of the State authority, in the belief that they would be accepted as United States Volunteers and thus be superior to the State troops. Of course this was absurd, since there were only three recognized classes of troops—the regular army, the militia, volunteer or drafted and mustered into service for three years, and the ordinary militia organizations called into service for short periods. There was evidently some looseness of opinion on this subject in the War Department since authorizations were issued thence to persons to raise regiments independently of the State authority, but such authorizations ceased after May 31st, and on September 3d general orders (No. 95) of the War Department directed all persons who had received authority to raise volunteers in the State of New York, to report unreservedly to Governor Morgan, and that all officers of regiments, etc., “raised in the State of New York, independent of the State authorities” could receive commissions from the Governor. Thus was fortunately terminated a practice that would have brought most embarrassing results. The conflict between the two governments in recruiting in each State, the jealousies of the officers and other complications would have been disastrous, irrespective of the grave constitutional questions raised. Subsequently the colored troops raised in the insurrectionary States were termed United States Volunteers, but were in fact a temporary increase of the regular army. Sixteen infantry regiments were thus remanded to the State authority, and so far satisfied the quota allotted to New York on the President’s calls. Many of these regiments were almost wholly composed of men of foreign birth, a fact amply illustrated by the names of the colonels—as D’Utassy, Von Gilsa, Kozlay, Kryzanowski, De Trobriand, Von Amsberg, Rosa, D’Epi-

neuil and Betge. Several regiments of cavalry and batteries of artillery that were being recruited under authorizations from the War Department were remanded by the same general orders to the State authority. The recruiting under the latter authority was not very active during this period; the conflict between the two sources of authority had a depressing effect, and the disaster at Bull Run was not relieved by any successes in the east, while the defeat at Wilsons Creek, Missouri, terminating in the death of the gallant General Lyon,* on August 10th, was followed about a month later by the surrender of Lexington in the same State by Colonel Mulligan. A month later (October 20th),

* Nathaniel Lyon was born at Ashford, Conn. His granduncle, Colonel Knowlton, was killed in action at Harlem Heights. Lyon graduated from West Point in the class of 1841, and was assigned to the Second Infantry. He served through the Seminole and Mexican Wars. Was wounded at the Belen Gate of the capital. For several years thereafter he saw considerable Indian service in California. He took part in the Kansas struggle as captain in the Second Infantry, and was stationed at Fort Scott when Sumter was fired upon. He was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861, and through his knowledge, energy, determination and sagacity Missouri was held to the Union. At the conference of July 11, 1861, between Governor Jackson and General Price on one side and Colonel Blair and General Lyon on the other, Lyon brought the proceedings to a close at the end of four or five hours by declaring: "Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my Government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for a single instant, the right to dictate to my Government in any matter, however unimportant, I would" (rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room) "see you, and you, and you, and every man, woman and child in the State, dead and buried." Then turning to the Governor he said: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." Subsequently he captured the State militia at Camp Jackson, drove the Governor from the capital and all his troops to the farthest corner of the State, held Price and McCullough until the Union men had time to assemble, deposed the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor and all of the members of the General Assembly. He was killed at Wilsons Creek August 10, 1861, aged 42 years.

occurred the calamitous affair at Balls Bluff on the Potomac and the killing of Colonel Baker,* the Oregon Senator and soldier. A week or so later the capture of the forts at Hilton Head and Phillips Island by the expedition under General T. W. Sherman and Com-modore Dupont gave us a valuable lodgment on the Atlantic coast and a depot of supplies and base of operations at Port Royal, S. C., but this achievement was not sufficient to encourage enlistments. These, however, steadily continued during the fall and winter, partially during the latter part of the time for regiments in the field.

The militia Brigadier Generals Yates, Rathbone and Van Valken-burgh, who had respectively commanded the depots at New York, Albany and Elmira, under the previous call, were continued in com-mand, and each was provided with a full staff of assistants.† The War Department, by general orders (No. 58) issued on August 15th, proposed to establish near New York and Elmira camps of rendezvous and instruction for volunteers under the command of officers of the army, but these orders were never carried out; in fact there was too great a lack of such officers to permit such a scheme. So, early as April 26th, Governor Morgan had requested

*Edward Dickenson Baker was born in London, England, February 24, 1811. At the age of five years he came to America. Later he moved to Springfield, Ill., where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1837 he was elected a member of the Legislature. Three years later promoted to the Senate; 1844 sent to Congress. He fought with great distinction at the head of his regiment during the Mexican War and commanded a brigade after General Shields was wounded at Cerro Gordo. He served again in Congress from December, 1849, until March 3, 1851, declining renomination. The gold fever found him in California, where he at once took rank as a leader of the bar. In 1860 he was elected to the United States Senate from Oregon. When Sumter was fired upon, he repaired to New York and raised what was called the California Regiment, several companies having been recruited in Philadelphia. At Balls Bluff he commanded a brigade and fell mortally wounded.

† See Appendix B. "Headquarters, Depots, etc."

the Secretary of War to assign the West Point cadets of the first class from this State to duty with the regiments of volunteers as military instructors. The answer was that the early graduation of the first class of cadets was under consideration, and that if possible the Governor's request would be granted, but the scarcity of army officers might render it necessary to assign these cadets immediately to active commands in the service, and indeed this necessity was so overwhelming that these newly-fledged warriors were soon in high commands, even as colonels and generals, reaching in a few months the rank that was attained by few during life-long service in peaceful days.

Adjutant General Read, who had been overburdened by his duties, both through bodily weakness and lack of qualifications, resigned on August 15th, and was succeeded by Thomas Hillhouse, of Geneva, late senator from that district, who proved to be an earnest and untiring official.

By a letter on August 3d to Governor Morgan, the Secretary of War authorized him to make requisitions upon the various bureaus of the War Department for expenses incurred in the organization of troops under the recent call, and this letter was the basis for the subsequent adjustment of accounts covering a large aggregate sum, payable from the appropriation by Congress on August 5th of twenty millions for the expenses of collecting, drilling and organizing volunteers. A large part of this fund was disbursed through army officers stationed in the principal cities, most of them being of that unfortunate number paroled when General Twiggs treacherously surrendered his army in Texas. These officers trained in the rigid requirements and formalities of the army, insisted upon vouchers and forms that most of the recruiting officers could not furnish, since they were ignorant of these requisites at the time

when their accounts accrued and could not repair their defects. These disbursing officers at a later day were more liberal and considerate, under orders of the War Department relaxing the strictness of regulations. An edition of the General Regulations of the United States Army was published by the State in June, 1861, for the use of its own officials, but very few of the persons engaged in enlistments ever saw it.

There was from the very beginning of the war a clashing with the regular military establishment. The militia, the volunteers, the State officials and the people, full of patriotic aspirations and ardor, eager each to do his utmost to aid their assaulted country, found their efforts hampered and entangled in the web of military formalism; this latter had its uses and value, perhaps never more strongly than in this period of dizzy effervescence, but it might have been, yet was not, tempered by a just discretion. The iron wall of military discipline and precedent would not yield even to the fervid importunity of patriots rushing to arms. The most exasperating of these army officers were those attached to the staff departments, particularly the quartermaster's. The officer in charge of that branch at New York when the war began was Colonel Daniel D. Tompkins, one of the assistant quartermasters general, who delighted in scolding, abusing and cursing the unfortunate volunteer officers who had business with him, and in this respect was a type of many of his fellows. I recall a ludicrous incident in the autumn of 1862 when he was finally discomfited. The One Hundred and Eleventh Regiment Infantry (of the third levy), raised at Auburn, was commanded by Colonel Jesse Segoine, an old brigadier general of militia, noted for his brusqueness and vituperative fluency. His regiment should have gone to the Army of the Potomac *via* Elmira and Harrisburg, Pa., as the shortest route, but

Colonel Segoine for some reason wanted to pass through New York, and by the influence of his distinguished fellow townsman, Secretary Seward, got leave to do so. When he applied to Colonel Tompkins, at his office on State street, opposite the Battery, for his transportation papers for Washington, that officer began his usual tirade, damning Colonel Segoine for his round-about route and objurgating in red-hot terms all volunteer colonels. The imperturbability of Colonel Segoine inflamed the irascible quartermaster, and he cursed until the air was blue and until, out of breath, he had to desist. Then the volunteer colonel began in a cool but stentorian voice to return the malediction, in such new and endless flow of execration that the old regular stood aghast and finally overcome by the interminable array of new phrases of denunciation and blasphemy he begged his master in Billingsgate and imprecation to go out and take a drink. When at our headquarters in Walker street we heard of Colonel Tompkins' ignominious discomfiture in the field of filth where he had reigned supreme there was general rejoicing, and for many days thereafter volunteer officers found the late truculent quartermaster quiet and even courteous in his official demeanor.

The attitude of the United States authorities regarding facilities for recruiting was various; it was adverse in the difficulty or impossibility of obtaining reimbursement for expenses, so costly was it that only the hope of obtaining a commission gave encouragement. At first it was proposed to pay the enlisted men only from date of muster, but this was soon abandoned and payment made from date of enlistment, but even so late as June, after the minutemen from our militia had been several weeks guarding Washington, there was required some urgency to obtain their payment from the date they abandoned family and business to protect the threatened

capital. There were discouragements in the frequent decisions that no more troops were required, followed at intervals by an urgent call for them; and the unsettled question as to whom application for authority should be made for several months disturbed the military mind. I have called attention to several New York regiments (p. 47, *supra*) composed almost entirely of foreigners, and by a general order of July 19th the War Department announced "in future no volunteer will be mustered into the service who is unable to speak the English language." There were many such foreigners ready for enlistment, generally Germans with a military training, and this injudicious order was modified on August 3d so as to permit the muster of foreigners into regiments of their own nationality. The order of August 12th that all regiments should be for a term of three years was a sound one, but it sensibly arrested enlistments. There was also some discouragement regarding the period for muster-in of officers, which, however, was modified in September. The State General Orders of July 30th (No. 78) provided that the pay of the captain and first lieutenant of a company might date from their acceptance with 32 men, and the United States Pay Department subsequently ratified this order, but it was not extended to officers of organizations raised under later orders who received pay only from date of their muster-in to the United State service.

On the other hand Congress increased the pay of privates from \$11 to \$13 per month, but this additional \$24 for a year's service could not be accounted an inducement. A beneficent arrangement under the law was made for the allotment of an optional part of a private's pay for the benefit of his family, such allotments being secured at the time of enlistment, when domestic attachment was strong and before the demoralizing effect of military life had im-

paired it. These allotments served an excellent purpose, not only in aiding the support of the dependent families, but in preserving even in that slight form the tie with home that might in many cases have been severed by absence and the degrading effect of warfare.* It was provided by the act of July 22, 1861, that not only should the volunteers receive the same pay, allowances and pensions as soldiers in the regular army, but also that a bounty of one hundred dollars should be paid to the widow or heirs of any volunteer who was killed or who died in the service. This was doubtless an inducement, though overshadowed soon by the increasing bounties paid at time of enlistment, and not after date of discharge, which in many cases would be *post-mortem*, like a life insurance. Another act considerably increased the army ration during the period of "the present insurrection," and a general order of August reduced the minimum stature of recruits from the standard of five feet four and a half inches to five feet three inches. The War Department also gave its attention to many details hitherto overlooked, such as the record of evidences on which pensions might be granted, and to the interment of deceased soldiers and proper identification of the places of their burial.

The State in August made an offer of a premium (miscalled "bounty") of two dollars per man on every thirty-two recruits presented and passed at the depots; this was intended as a partial reimbursement of expenses, but it was found that the United States would not recognize nor probably refund such advances, having by law (§ 9, Act Aug. 3) abolished such premium. The State, therefore, rescinded its order on October 17th, but I cannot now recall the aggregate amount of these premiums.

On August 22d, with the purpose of stimulating enlistments,

* See Appendix A.

Governor Morgan issued a vigorous proclamation, appealing to the patriotism of the people and urging the pressing necessities of the United States Government.

The staff organization remained the same, except that Colonel Edmund Schriver resigned on September 1 as aid-de-camp to accept the position of inspector general in the regular army, and was succeeded by Colonel Thomas B. Arden,* also a West Point graduate. General Chester A. Arthur continued to act as assistant quartermaster-general at New York. Captain H. C. Hodges,† of the United States Quartermaster's Department, was assigned to duty under the War Department letter of August 3d, already referred to, conferring authority on Governor Morgan to equip volunteers. At first the accounts under this authority were payable either by drafts on the Treasury or by Treasury notes bearing interest at six per cent. This option was rescinded, however, on August 8th, and payments made by draft only.

* Thomas B. Arden was appointed from New York and graduated from West Point in the class of 1835. He served during the Florida war; resigned December 31, 1842, and acted as president of the Putnam County Agricultural Society from 1851-1856. From April 26th to August, 1861, he served as an aid-de-camp to Major-General Sandford, New York State Militia, with the rank of major in the defenses of Washington, D. C., and subsequently as aid-de-camp to Governor Morgan with the rank of colonel, acting as military agent of New York State troops in the field September 2, 1861, to January 1, 1863.

† Henry C. Hodges was born in Vermont, graduated from West Point class of '51 and was assigned to the Fourth Infantry, in which he served in California, Oregon and Washington until the outbreak of the war, when he was appointed assistant quartermaster, with the rank of captain, and acted as purchasing and disbursing quartermaster on the staff of Governor Morgan. August, '61, to January, '63, in clothing and equipping New York volunteers. He was then assigned to the center grand division of the Army of the Potomac as quartermaster with the rank of colonel, and subsequently served as chief quartermaster on Major-General Rosecrans' staff in the Tennessee campaign, participating in the battle of Chickamauga. He was appointed to the various grades and to the rank of colonel, assistant quartermaster-general and was retired January 14, 1895.

On a previous page I have spoken of the many resignations of officers from the early regiments; the glamour of military glory was soon dissipated by the stern realities; some found themselves physically unable to endure the privations of the camp or the fatigues of the march; others failed in qualities of discipline and command, and a few were lacking in courage. On August 3d (G. O. No. 51) the War Department called attention to the numerous resignations of commissioned officers and the probability of their abuse, and on August 15th directed that no person who had resigned his commission should be again mustered in as an officer of another regiment. So, too, the discharges of enlisted men for disability were so numerous as to demand the most stringent measures, not only by greater vigilance in the medical examination of recruits, but by the order that all men discharged for disability within three months from date of enlistment should not receive pay for any period of service. Discharge of minors who had failed to produce the permission of their parents or guardians, through deception or forgery, was also prohibited. In fact, the stern, inexorable facts of war were being enforced and realized. The examinations of persons aspiring to be officers (under War Dept. G. O. No. 47 and State G. O. No. 78) had salutary effects. The State examinations were made by military officers and were not calculated to secure any large degree of military knowledge or efficiency, but they did deter to some extent the application of conspicuously unfit men, particularly as they suggested that there might be further examinations in the field under more rigid conditions.

Before taking up the incidents of this period *seriatim* the character of this levy may be reviewed in mass. It includes all the regiments mustered into the United States service between July 1, 1861, and March 31, 1862. In this levy were included much mate-

rial similar to that of the earlier regiments, the adventurous and thoughtless; it comprised several regiments composed almost entirely of men of foreign birth, mostly Germans and Irishmen. The proportion of men of foreign birth in the Union armies has been absurdly exaggerated; they formed a very small percentage of the aggregate. From this State, where the influx of immigration and the large number of foreign residents in the large cities gave more than the average opportunities for recruiting from this class, I do not think the percentage exceeded ten in a hundred. Despite the military education of these German officers from this State, none of them reached the distinction of their Western counterparts, Generals Sigel and Schurz.

The Eighth Volunteer Infantry Regiment was one of the first of the two-years regiments in the field, and was commanded by Colonel Louis Blenker, who had been an officer in the German army, and I recall the ridiculous anticipations of his military career and the newspaper puffs showered upon him. In the summer of 1861 we were made to believe that Washington was safe because Blenker was there. He was one of the first batch of brigadier-generals of volunteers appointed by the President on August 9, 1861, but he never became distinguished. Julius Stahel, the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment, was made a brigadier-general on November 12, 1861, and did good service in that rank. Prince Felix Salm-Salm was a major in the same regiment, and he and his wife were among the picturesque features of the Army of the Potomac. None of the German officers in this second levy reached the rank of brigadier-general.

There were many military fantasies in this period. Colonel William A. Howard began to raise a regiment of "marine artillery," and I recall him as a handsome, plausible man with a breezy

salt-water manner and in neat, semi-nautical attire, but I never could grasp the purpose or utility of his amphibious regiment, which he claimed would serve with equal facility on land and water. He never completed his task, and the companies raised were disbanded in March, 1863. Then there was the "rocket battalion," which was to use Congreve rockets, an "exploded" missile, but it never did so and was, at an early day, transformed into two battalions of artillery. One of the first infantry regiments raised under the Governor's call of July 25th was the Forty-fourth, called by the melodramatic title of "the Ellsworth Avengers," referring to the assassination of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth (see page 35, *supra*). It was proposed that this regiment should consist of one representative from each of the thousand towns in the State, and though this project was not fully carried out, many selections were made by towns. When this regiment left Albany "for the field" in October its full ranks of stalwart men, marching down that grand avenue, State street, made a deep impression upon all spectators. During its three years it served continuously in the Army of the Potomac, being engaged during that period in all the battles of that much-belabored host. In the first levy there had been two or three infantry regiments clad in Zouave uniform, and in this second levy there were one or two more, being the last, since the United States was averse to the supply of anything but standard articles of every kind, since any exceptional type led to great confusion. The most fantastic, brilliant and outré of these uniforms was that of a proposed regiment of Zouaves attempted by a French officer, Colonel Lionel J. D'Epineuil, and largely French in its composition (Fifty-third Infantry), but which was a failure, and was disbanded March 21, 1862. Another regiment (Fifty-fifth Infantry) was given the same number as the French military regiment in

New York city, known as the Guard Lafayette. This regiment was largely French in material, and was commanded by Colonel Regis De Trobriand, a well-known writer, who, in January, 1864, was made a brigadier-general of volunteers, in June, 1866, colonel of the Thirty-first Regiment of regulars, and is now on the retired list of the Army.* In the first levy there were no cavalry and only three batteries of artillery. The First Regiment of Artillery was mustered in on September 25, 1861, and its colonel was First Lieutenant Guilford R. Bailey, of the Second Regiment Artillery, United States Army. Colonel Bailey was a fine-looking, enthusiastic and gallant young man and very popular when at West Point. He was killed in action at Fair Oaks, Va., on May 31, 1862.

There had been much hesitation on the part of the War Department to authorize the raising or accepting of cavalry, which was considered the least desirable arm of the service for a volunteer force; more costly and requiring a higher and prolonged training. The pressure of events overcome this reluctance, and nine regiments of cavalry from this State were included in this second levy. One of the earliest attempts in this direction was made at Troy to raise a regiment known as the "Black Horse Cavalry,"† but its pretentious name did not aid it, since it was disbanded within four months, being mustered out of service on March 31, 1862. There is a certain glamour of chivalry in mounted troops, and in those early days there was the more practical idea that this branch of the service is less fatiguing. Thus there was a strong drift toward cavalry, the proportion of which was reduced, however, in our

* General De Trobriand has died since the above was written. His death occurred 15 July, 1897.

† This name was probably borrowed from the popular designation of a syndicate of legislative lobbyists who had been successful in previous sessions at Albany. But why the secretive and insidious tactics of this body suggested the dashing onset of a "Black Horse Cavalry" is now difficult to explain.

volunteer forces by the consideration that the occasions would be rare when mounted troops could be employed in mass. Our rough, wooded country, intersected by deep streams, particularly in the regions where the war was chiefly waged, prevented those grand charges of massed squadrons that greatly influenced and in some cases decided the Napoleonic battles. First Lieutenant Judson Kilpatrick, of the First Artillery, United States Army, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Second New York Cavalry, promoted to its colonelcy, made a brigadier-general of volunteers in June, 1863, and subsequently appointed major-general, and was one of the most conspicuous cavalry leaders of the war.* He was a signal example of the rapid rise of officers in that great contest. Two regiments of engineers were raised in this period, and subsequently a two-years infantry regiment (the Fifteenth) was changed to the same arm of the service. These regiments, largely composed of skilled artisans and officered by experienced civil engineers, rendered excellent service during the war in pontoon and bridge building, dismantling and repairing railroads and in other operations, constructive and destructive.

Including the irregular organizations remanded to the State authority, New York raised in this levy of three-years volunteers sixty-five regiments of infantry, nine of cavalry, two of engineers, three of artillery and four battalions and nine batteries of artillery, all being sent into the field before April 1, 1862. From the officers of these regiments twenty-three were promoted to be brigadier-generals.

* The cavalry force during the war, both in the east and west, was most valuable in skirmishing and protection of the army flanks. It also by its rapid raids demoralized the enemy. In these directions mounted troops were employed by both sides. On our own side the most distinguished cavalry leader was General Sheridan, a native of Albany, N. Y.

In addition to these troops there had been considerable recruitment of regiments in the service. On April 1, 1862, the account of troops furnished by the State stood about as follows, inclusive of the recruits as above:

Militia for three months in 1861.....	13,906
Two-years volunteers in 1861.....	30,950
Three-years volunteers in 1861-62.....	89,000
Total	<u>133,856</u>

This levy was the last one organized by concentration of supervision at three depots and the first one under the sole and supreme control of the Governor. It was in many ways relieved from the difficulties attending the organization of the previous levy. Instead of the diluted responsibility of a military board there was the proper military supervision by a single officer. There was a more thorough and efficient organization of the staff departments and a larger experience in the details of recruiting by those engaged in it.*

Nearly all the accounts connected with the first levy, amounting in the aggregate to nearly \$3,000,000, had been audited in the Inspector-General's office, and that experienced officer, General Patrick, had charge of all expenditures for supplies under the second levy, until relieved by the officers detailed to that service by the War Department in October (1861). All the contracts for these supplies were made by the Governor, under the authority conferred August 5th. There was kept in the Inspector-General's office by me a record of all contracts, of the receipt and issue of supplies under them and of payment on account. Under Adjutant-General Hillhouse's systematic supervision the personal records were greatly improved. Two hundred and six candidates for the

positions of regimental surgeon and assistant surgeon were examined by Surgeon-General Vander Poel. The general health of the recruits in barracks was much better, partly owing to cooler weather and more particularly to better arrangements and greater experience. At New York General Arthur continued to represent the Quartermaster's Department.

During this period there were no great military events, though some at the time were regarded as of signal importance. On August 20th General George B. McClellan was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, the first page in the varied history of that body. Under his supervision the chain of forts encircling Washington was completed, and in a great camp of instruction were gathered the regiments then in that vicinity and arriving there from time to time. In defensive works and in the organization and drilling of armies General McClellan had no superior in our service. On the same day that he took command of that army there sailed from Fortress Monroe a joint naval and military expedition under Commodore Goldsborough and General Butler, which captured Forts Hatteras and Clark at the mouth of Pamlico Sound, thus obtaining lodgment on the North Carolina coast that was never relinquished to the end of the war. These successes somewhat counterbalanced the defeat of forces in the battle at Wilsons Creek, Mo., when our commanding officer, General Nathaniel Lyon, was killed, the first officer of high rank lost on either side. The rebel General Price subsequently invested the town of Lexington, occupied by Colonel Mulligan of Illinois and his Irish Brigade, who surrendered on September 20th. Colonel Mulligan was at Albany a few weeks later, and I recall how we lionized him as a hero. I had been slightly acquainted with him at Chicago some six years earlier but lost sight of him after this meeting.

On October 21st occurred the disastrous battle at Balls Bluff on the Potomac, perhaps, considering the force engaged, the most disastrous battle of the war. Colonel Baker, the United States Senator from Oregon, led our forces and was killed before the end of the engagement, which comprised on our part a little less than 2,000 men, of whom at least one-half were lost as killed, drowned or missing. There were palpable evidences of mismanagement—indeed General Charles P. Stone was arrested and incarcerated in Fort Lafayette on this charge, and, though subsequently released, never recovered his position.* This second disaster on the Potomac, though not as important as the previous one at Bull Run, was very disheartening. Our Forty-second Infantry, known as the “Tammany Regiment,” was engaged in it and lost heavily, and its colonel, Milton Cogswell, was in command after the gallant

* General Charles P. Stone was born September 30, 1824, at Greenfield, Massachusetts; graduated from West Point July 1, 1845, and was assigned to the ordnance corps. During the Mexican War he was attached to the only siege battery in the army. He served on the staff of General Scott, and distinguished himself throughout the campaign which ended in the capture of the city of Mexico. He resigned from the army November 17, 1856, to go in the banking business in San Francisco. To General Stone, more than to any other officer, is due the credit of saving Washington from falling into the hands of the insurgents in the spring of 1861. He was commissioned colonel of the Fourteenth Regular Infantry May 14, 1861, and brigadier-general United States Volunteers three days later; assigned to the Shenandoah Valley and commanded at the battle at Balls Bluff. He was selected as the victim for the blunders committed at that slaughter, and was incarcerated at Fort Lafayette, N. Y., February 9, 1862, to August 16, 1862, without charges being preferred against him. Subsequently he served in the southwest for a time, but returned to the Army of the Potomac and commanded a brigade before Petersburg in the latter part of the summer of 1864. He resigned from the army September 13th of that year and eventually became attached to the Egyptian Army, where for “his valuable services in commanding, organizing and administration,” he was decorated by the Khedive several times. He constructed the pedestal and colossal statue of “Liberty Enlightening the World,” on Bedloes Island, New York Harbor, 1886-7. He died at New York city January 24, 1887, aged 62 years.

Colonel Baker's death, and conducted the melancholy and deadly retreat across the Potomac.

On September 26th the President appointed Governor Morgan a major-general of volunteers, the only appointment of the kind that was made during the war. Governor Morgan accepted this position with great reluctance, and only yielded to the urgency of the President and Secretaries Cameron and Seward. The military importance of New York in many respects, and particularly as the source of armies, suggested the endowment of its Governor with every possible token of authority. On October 26th the War Department, by General Orders No. 92, created the Military Department of New York, under the command of Major-General Morgan, to whom all United States officers reported for duty within the borders of the State. General Morgan subsequently appointed Captain George Bliss as his assistant adjutant-general and Lieutenant John H. Linsly his aid-de-camp. The former had been in 1859-60 his private secretary as Governor and subsequently was paymaster-general on the State staff. Lieutenant Linsly was his military secretary as Governor.

On November 1st was announced the retirement from active service of Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, then in his seventy-sixth year, having served over fifty years, in the last twenty of which he was in command of the army. It is not derogatory to General Scott's fame to say that the unique character of the war and his age and physical condition made his retirement necessary. It will be to his lasting honor that, though like General Lee he was a native of Virginia, he had a clearer conception of his allegiance as a citizen of the United States, and never wavered in his loyalty. He died in May, 1866, having seen the Union fully restored. The same order that announced General Scott's retirement

published the President's appointment of Major-General McClellan to the command of the army. He was in his thirty-fifth year when he thus began his interesting military career as the general-in-chief. His past life had been in all respects creditable. As one of the military commissioners sent by our Government to the Crimea during the war there in 1855 he had written a valuable treatise upon the "Organization of European Armies and Operations in the Crimea," which was published by the Government. Resigning from the army two years later to engage in railway management he volunteered in the Ohio forces at the outbreak of the rebellion, and on May 14, 1861, was appointed a major-general in the regular army that he had left two years earlier with the rank of captain. I shall not attempt to describe a career about which so much has been written and from such different standpoints. Whatever may have been General McClellan's defects or shortcomings, he in the end suffered most from that national craze of hero-worship that, prevailing throughout the entire war, was more frantic in its earlier period. This tendency was always capricious and unreasonable; feeding upon deceptions and illusions, it was quite as unjust in its adulation as in its condemnation. Some allowance must be made for the natural excitements of those days of peril and uncertainty, but it now seems strange that we believed such unfounded reports and were so readily deceived concerning the vices or the virtues of those in high position. I have mentioned (p. 57, *supra*) our faith in the invincibility of "General Blenker." For a year after the disaster at Bull Run it was generally believed that our defeat was owing to the intoxication of General McDowell, in command, who was represented as an habitual drunkard and anathematized even from the pulpits, and though the truth was that he had always been

a man of scrupulously sober habits, he never recovered from the effects of these baseless scandals.

General McClellan attained the generalship of the army at a remarkably early age. His successes in Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge, had been accounted very brilliant amid the almost universal disasters to our cause elsewhere. He was a man possessing many elements of popularity in his personal appearance and address, and had the power of attaching firmly to him those near his person and to whom he gave his confidence. The task he had undertaken in the organization, or rather the creation, of a grand army, so far as drill and discipline could accomplish that end, was a work for which he was peculiarly fitted by his temperament and training. The national appetite for a hero was stimulated by our many reverses. We did not as yet appreciate the transcendent character of that patient, overburdened and faithful occupant of the "White House," who bore the responsibility of those dreadful days. General McClellan was the champion, the warrior-defender of the Union, the gallant chieftain who was to lead us to certain and early victory. As I have observed above, the conditions were all favorable for an exhibition of that hero-worship that as a nation we are so addicted to, and in this instance the fire was fed by the foolish adulation of the hero's friends, who began to call him "the young Napoleon," and otherwise to associate him in the public mind with all the famous soldiers of the past. The newspaper correspondents with the army took up the theme and gave loose reins to their laudations and imaginations. Many of General McClellan's misfortunes may be fairly attributed to this universal folly and weakness.

On Tuesday, November 5th, occurred our State election, which resulted in a complete change of all the State officers except the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, whose terms expired over a

year later. None of the other members of "the military board" was renominated, and what was known as the "Union ticket" was elected by the unprecedented majority of more than one hundred thousand votes. The two prominent men so elected were Daniel S. Dickinson, as Attorney-General, and Lucius Robinson, as Comptroller. Mr. Dickinson had been a State Senator, 1837-41; Lieutenant-Governor, 1841-42, and United States Senator, 1844-51; also holding other offices, all of them as a Democrat. In the division of that party he was a "Hunker;" but the rebellion had opened his eyes and, like Douglas and many others, he became an uncompromising Unionist, and was the competitor of Andrew Johnson for the nomination as Vice-President in 1864. Mr. Robinson was one of the Free-soil Democrats who had acted with the Republican party. He had been a member of the Assembly from Elmira in the sessions of 1860 and 1861, was reelected Comptroller in 1863 and again on the Democratic nomination in 1875, and was elected Governor in 1876, being the first officer in that position to serve three instead of two years under the recent change in the Constitution. At this same election there was chosen a Legislature that in both bodies, particularly the Assembly, was representative in character and energy of the patriotic exaltation of that first year in our cruel war.

On November 8th we heard of the battle at Belmont, Mo., on the previous day, where our forces were commanded by Brigadier-General U. S. Grant, this being the first occasion when that officer's name became generally known, a name thenceforth to be associated only with victories. Several days later General McClellan issued a congratulatory order (G. O. No. 99) in which he grouped this battle of Belmont, the recent successes of General Nelson at Pikeville, Ky., and the reduction of the forts at Port Royal and capture

of Beaufort, on the South Carolina coast, by the naval and army expedition under Commodore Dupont and General T. W. Sherman. In contrast with the later and larger events of the war these seem to afford scanty material for a War Department cry of exultation, but at that time we needed an encouraging tonic, and the order was of great value in its influence upon the troops being collected and converted into an army near Washington.

General Patrick had believed for some time that his proper post of duty as inspector-general on the Governor's staff was with that army containing the largest part of the troops from this State. There were many reasons why a representative of the State should be near the troops—the volunteer organization preserved the distinction of States and appealed to State pride. All promotions to the company and regimental offices were made by the Governor, who needed unprejudiced information and advice as to the qualifications or conspicuously good service of those in line of promotion; the presence of a State official of suitable rank would strengthen the home attachment of the State troops, encourage their *esprit de corps* and their contentment, while it also secured a prompt means of communication between them and their friends at home. Many other obvious reasons might be given, but General Patrick was content with an occasional visit "to the front" until General McClellan began the work of organizing a grand army. By November 1st there were over twenty regiments of infantry from this State in that body and many more almost ready to join it. General Patrick's relations with General McClellan were very cordial, and he had been at West Point with General Marcy, the father-in-law of General McClellan. He convinced the Governor that his place was now in the field, and on November 15th reported to General McClellan and, as he wrote me, was accepted

as a volunteer aid on his staff. It was a brilliant staff, and in addition to the administrative officers comprised many distinguished persons appointed aides-de-camp under the recent act of Congress. Among these, with the rank of captain, were Louis Philippe d'Orleans (Compte de Paris) and his brother, Robert d'Orleans (Duc de Chartres), the former the Orleanist heir to the French throne.

About the middle of November we heard of the "Trent affair." The Confederate government had commissioned Mr. Mason as diplomatic commissioner to England and Mr. Slidell to France. They got through our blockade and reached Havana and embarked in the British steamer Trent for Nassau, where they would connect with the regular line thence to England. Captain Wilkes, in command of the United States vessel San Jacinto, overtook the Trent and forcibly took from it the rebel commissioners and brought them to Boston, where they were incarcerated in Fort Warren, in the harbor of that city, as "contraband of war." In our then excited condition there was general exultation over Captain Wilkes' violent capture of the rebel emissaries. We had no idea of international law, and we viewed this violation of it as a proper exercise of our right to suppress the rebellion. Almost without exception the public expression was jubilant and laudatory. But soon came the menacing echoes from England, the outcry against the violation of neutral rights, the rapid military and naval preparations and the prospect of a foreign war superadded to our domestic troubles. There was some foolish ebullition of defiance, but to the thoughtful the prospect was very threatening and almost fatal. In case of war with Great Britain the brunt would have to be borne by New York. Its long sea coast, its great vulnerable metropolis, its long boundary at the north, coterminous with Canada, and its important ports on the great lakes, were all points of probable attack or invasion. So

soon as the intelligence of hostile preparations in England reached this country, we who were engaged at the Governor's headquarters recognized the gravity of the situation, and that under existing conditions our State would have to provide largely for its own defense. Indeed there were many official and semi-official intimations from Washington that the threatened safety of that city would require the retention there of all the troops then near it, and that few could be spared from other quarters should there occur a declaration of war by England, as then seemed imminent—in other words, that we would have to take care of ourselves. This was a very serious consideration. Our organized militia, very feeble at the best except in New York city, had everywhere been weakened by the volunteering of a large part of its best element, since a considerable share of the officers in the new regiments had been drawn from the militia. There were several regiments within the State not yet completed, but they were comparatively few and at the best were raw and undrilled, and would count for little in a sudden contest with the disciplined soldiers of the regular British army. So far as the approach from Canada was concerned there was some relief in the imminence of winter, which would lock up the St. Lawrence in ice and make an invasion by land very difficult. We were more particularly concerned about New York city, which, as the largest and most important of our commercial cities, would be the principal objective point of a hostile navy, and England was then the best equipped naval power in the world. Major John G. Barnard, of the United States Engineer Corps, had in 1859 addressed a paper to the Secretary of War entitled "The Dangers and Defences of New York," in which he demonstrated the pressing need of stronger defensive works. There was in process of construction a great granite fortress on Sandy Hook, which

was to control the entrance to the ship channels leading into the outer bay, but this work was in a very incomplete condition, in fact scarcely advanced beyond the foundations. The great change in aggressive and defensive conditions since that day has led to an abandonment of the plans and materials of this work. At the Narrows there were two shore batteries and Fort Richmond, on the Staten Island side, and Forts Lafayette and Hamilton, on the Long Island side, but the armament both in number of pieces and in their caliber was deficient. As there were no guns at Sandy Hook, the engineers had decided that at least 300 pieces at the Narrows should be so mounted as to concentrate their fire upon a vessel passing between them, but not half that number were then available. At Governors, Bedloes and Ellis Islands only three-quarters of the armament had been supplied, though it is now evident that a fleet that had passed the Narrows might disregard these inferior works and readily destroy the city. There were also no works at all to prevent the disembarkation of a hostile army in Gravesend Bay, and a repetition of the British advance from there in August, 1776. The eastern entrance to the harbor by Long Island Sound was defended only by Fort Schuyler on Throgs Neck, where only 95 guns out of a complete armament of 300 had as yet been supplied, while no works or guns had been prepared for the opposite shore of Long Island at Willets Point. In fact, the conditions of defence of the city were very faulty, and though the United States engineers had plans for completing the works and armaments so as to bring them fully up to the times, these would require years, and the dangers we were confronting were imminent. It was decided that shore batteries in earthworks might be hastily constructed to prevent disembarkation in Gravesend Bay and at Willets Point to further secure the natural gate at Throgs

Neck. As for the regular harbor channel entrances earthworks at Sandy Hook mounted with heavy guns would guard the outer bay, but as the Narrows were the real gateway to the upper bay and to such an approach as would enable the bombardment of Brooklyn and New York, there was a concentration of attention upon that point. Besides consultations with General Totten and Major Delafield of the Corps of Engineers, the Governor appointed a commission of eminent civil engineers to coöperate with General Arthur, engineer-in-chief on the staff, in devising some plan of defence at this point and particularly to consider the methods of temporarily closing the channel. This commission made an elaborate report in April, 1862, recommending the closing of the passage by a float of heavy timbers bound together by iron bolts and cables and secured by cables to the shores and anchorage.* In the imminence of our Trent troubles about half a million cubic feet of pine timber was purchased at New York in the latter part of December, by order of the Governor, at a cost of about \$80,000, and arrangements were made for the supply of a much larger quantity.† The Governor also directed the purchase of 100,000 pounds of cannon powder, which was stored in the United States magazines on Ellis Island in the harbor. Some attention was also given to the defences on the lakes and northern frontier, though nothing practical was attempted. Under the treaty of April, 1818, neither the United States nor Great Britain could have upon the boundary lakes, including Lake Champlain, any naval vessels, except a single one on each, of small burden armed with a single gun. At the time of the original treaty it placed the two powers on equal terms, but since that

* The cost of such float was estimated at \$1,118,915.60.

† The timber so bought was sold later at a large profit because of the great advance in prices of all commodities.

date the construction of canals around the several rapids of the St. Lawrence river and of the Welland canal, connecting Lakes Ontario and Erie, would enable the British Government to place upon the great lakes a fleet of war vessels at the very outbreak of hostilities. These canals had locks that would admit gunboats from the lower St. Lawrence river to Lake Ontario having a length of 186 feet, a width of 44 1-2 feet and a draught of 9 feet, or of 600 tons, and the Welland canal would admit vessels from Lake Ontario to the upper lakes having a length of 162 feet, 26 feet beam and a draught of 10 feet, or of 350 tons.

Our Erie canal locks would not admit boats with more than 98 feet of length, 17 3-4 feet width and 6 feet draught, or of less than 100 tons. We would therefore have to depend upon fitting out the mercantile lake craft for naval purposes, and though I do not doubt that had the pressing occasion required such a recourse, we would have rapidly improvised an excellent navy on the lakes, we would still have been at a great disadvantage with our antagonist, who could have brought upon those waters its sea-going naval vessels of small tonnage.

Such was the high pressure under which we served in those days that the whole question of coast and frontier defence was rapidly considered and the general line of conduct determined within a comparatively brief period. The terrible emergency never came, and the threatening war cloud that had so suddenly gathered from over the sea as suddenly passed away, but none of those who participated in the anxieties and discussions and bore a part of the responsibilities in those portentous days can forget them. Had the conflict ensued we should have been in a terribly unprepared condition, our harbor and frontier forts in bad condition, with very inade-

quate armament for them or for our improvised navies, and with only a raw, hastily gathered militia to encounter the British regulars seasoned in the Crimea and India. With little aid from the forces of the General Government, the menaced States would have had to depend upon such resources as each could gather within its borders and upon that peculiar American aptitude and inventive faculty that have so often responded to the occasion. As an instance of the latter I recall a proposition made by an old Hudson river steamboat captain, as suggested by his own practical experience. All the British naval vessels of any moment were propellers and our captain advised that all the many shad-nets owned along the Hudson should be gathered and arranged in the ship channels abreast Sandy Hook and Fort Schuyler on the Sound. These nets were to be both anchored and buoyed so as to float a few feet below the surface, where the propeller blades would entangle and then wind up the nets so tightly as to disable the propeller, while a reverse motion would fail to disengage these hidden obstacles. The captain said that on the Hudson, in the shad season, propellers were thus disabled every year and he would engage that the British vessels would be unmanageable and kept within the range of our shore batteries until well perforated.

During these exciting days the Trent "affair" was being diplomatically treated, and the negotiations ended in the release of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on January 1 (1862), and placing them on a British man-of-war, which conveyed them to Nassau, thus restoring so far as possible the *status quo*. A perusal of the dispatches and other State papers in this notable case does not disclose any apparent settlement of the larger aspects of the matter at issue. The discussion revived among our people the vexed and painfully sore

questions connected with that "right of search" that England brutally enforced so long as our national weakness tempted it. There were those living who could recall the national feeling during and after the "war of 1812," and the avoidance of a fair settlement of this dispute in the treaty that ended that war. It did seem to the passionate and thoughtless that this right of search was a very one sided affair and I think that the prevalence of this sentiment somewhat governed Secretary Seward in his negotiations. There was no direct break-down on our part, but a flaw in our case was conceded in that Captain Wilkes did not capture the Trent as contraband of war and convey it to one of our ports for regular condemnation. However, the gist of the settlement was that passengers in a neutral vessel could not be forcibly taken from her by a naval vessel of a nation at war, even if such passengers were engaged in concerns affecting the interests of that nation.

There was in the matter a plain reminder of the weakness of our coast and frontier defences that has never been practically heeded and of which I may speak again.

On January 1st the new State officers entered upon their duties in the usual quiet way, except in the case of the treasurer, concerning whose induction into office there was an unprecedented and ridiculous opposition. Philip Dorsheimer, whose term as treasurer expired on that day, was a typical German politician, having the normal quantity of irascibility and obstinacy. He was much irritated by the fact that he had not been renominated and held that Mr. Lewis who had been elected to his office having failed to file his official bond prior to January 1st was precluded from entering upon the office and that he (D.) was constrained to hold it. It was a veritable tempest in a teapot, and there was the scandal

of two treasurers—Mr. Lewis, who was recognized by the new comptroller, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Dorsheimer, supported by Canal Auditor Benton. There was much fun in this official contention which fortunately for the public interests was settled by the decision of Attorney-General Dickinson in such strong terms as compelled the irate Dorsheimer to yield.

On January 7th the Legislature convened in a session remarkable in one respect at least, and that was in the almost absolute limitation of its action to public purposes and in the absence of jobbery. The immediately previous two or three sessions had been notorious for the corrupt enactment of New York street railroad charters and other like schemes—it was credibly asserted that what is known as “the lobby” was never before so well organized, so arrogant, so successful. For the previous half century the political corruption in our State had been largely confined to the administration, repair and enlargement of its canal system which had been the principal bone of contention between the two parties so far as touched our State concerns. The power of the Legislature to grant franchises for the horse railways in the cities, particularly in New York and Brooklyn, disclosed new and rich placers which were worked to their full extent. When I went to Albany in May, 1861, these corruptions were still discussed in spite of the distant but audible thunder presaging the direful lightnings of four years of war.

There were two reasons for this exceptional character of the Legislature of 1862, and for its purity compared with its immediate predecessors and its successors to this day. It was elected in the early period of the war when we were all exalted by the vivification of patriotism, and it performed this work while this exaltation was

bright and clear, as yet undimmed by the meaner motives and purposes that at a later date tarnished and vitiated it. There were also elected to the Assembly or lower house a larger proportion of public spirited, experienced and honorable men than had been chosen in recent years. Among these were Henry J. Raymond, the brilliant editor of *The New York Times*, who had been a member of the same body in 1850 and 1851, being its Speaker in the former year and was in 1855 and 1856 Lieutenant-Governor of the State. Calvin T. Hulburt, of St. Lawrence county, and subsequent member of Congress for two terms; Charles L. Benedict, of Brooklyn, United States District Judge since 1865; Lemuel Stetson, of Clinton, who besides other offices held by him was a member of Assembly in 1835, 1836 and 1842; Peter A. Porter, of Niagara, son of Peter B. Porter, who was Secretary of War in 1828; Thomas S. Gray, of Warren; Ezra Cornell, of Tompkins; Benjamin Pringle, of Genesee; Tracy Beadle, of Chemung; Royal Phelps, of New York; Benjamin F. Tracy, of Tioga, now* Secretary of the Navy; Chauncey M. Depew, who thus began his public career, and many others of similar high character, were among the members of this body, of which Mr. Raymond was elected Speaker. The Senate, while not containing so many distinguished men, was a highly reputable body. The Governor's message was largely occupied by questions connected with the conduct of the war, and these of course occupied a great part of the attention of the lawmakers.

There had been for several weeks an increasing misunderstanding on the part of the Governor and Inspector-General Patrick. The latter said that he had been promised the rank of major-general in the State service and every possible aid and support in his project

* This material was written in 1889.

to represent the State troops in the field and carry out the several purposes hitherto mentioned (page 68, *supra*). My official relations to General Patrick as his acting assistant at Albany made me well acquainted with his grievances, though I was never satisfied as to the sufficiency of their grounds. He was a sincerely upright and honorable man, but better qualified to deal with military than with civil affairs. He was methodical, industrious and one of the most open and transparent characters I ever knew. I think that there was some secret influence operating against him either of a personal or political nature and that Governor Morgan was anxious to get rid of him, though I cannot believe that the Governor would have wilfully deceived him. The controversy was a very disagreeable incident to me, particularly as General Patrick, in his irascibility, wanted to appeal from the Governor to the Legislature at a time when harmony between those distinct authorities was more than usually desirable. General Patrick's appointment as a brigadier-general of volunteers led to his resignation from the Governor's staff early in February and fortunately ended the dispute. He subsequently became famous as provost-marshal-general of the Armies of the Potomac and the James. His successor as inspector-general was General C. A. Arthur, who was promoted from the position of engineer-in-chief.

The recent danger of a foreign war suggested the lack of defensive preparations upon our part, and several legislative committees considered this proposition, particularly in regard to our naval forces on the lakes. The subject most discussed was the enlargement of the canals and their locks so as to admit the passage of gun boats, and several reports were made on this subject. State Engineer Taylor reported that to convert the Champlain canal into

a ship canal would cost \$3,750,000, and the enlargement of the locks on the Erie and Oswego canals so as to admit the passage of gunboats of 400 tons would cost \$3,500,000. Nothing practical came of this discussion, but it was obvious that time would be required for these enlargements that could not be spared in a sudden emergency. I made the proposition that it would be much easier to convey vessels from the Hudson to Lakes Erie and Ontario by means of the double tracked Central railroad; the vessels to rest in cradles supported by trucks running on each track with proper inclined planes at the Hudson river and the lakes for drawing out and again launching the vessels. This would require the substitution of temporary tressel-work bridges for such as had the track running on their lower chords and the temporary removal of the canal viaduct near Syracuse, but these constructions and removal could be simultaneously conducted and would occupy but a short time. Mr. Taylor thought my plan feasible and I believe it could have been carried out had occasion required.

There was some talk of taking the partially constructed Stevens steam battery at Hoboken and converting it into an efficient means of harbor defense. The Hoboken Stevens family had a hereditary interest in steam navigation through John Stevens and Robert L., his son. The former had rivaled Fulton in the practical construction of steamboats and had proposed iron-clad batteries; the latter had been commissioned by the United States government in 1842 to construct according to his father's plans, improved by himself, a floating iron-clad battery for the defence of New York harbor. Work was immediately begun upon it, but the rapid alternative development of ordnance and defensive armor interrupted its progress and finally appropriations were withheld. Robert L.

Stevens died in 1856, and his battery about half finished was on the stocks at Hoboken when the war broke out. Our naval authorities were disinclined to recommend its completion and the success of Ericsson's "monitor" naval vessels further diverted attention from it. After the war a final effort was made by the Stevens family to have it finished, but this failing it was broken up. Though it never reached a practical trial it is interesting as an example of the early appreciation of the modern iron-clad naval system by a distinguished and public spirited American engineer.

There were the usual number of inventors and projectors importunately pressing upon the notice of the Legislature their various engines of war or novel means for defense. Nothing was done however but to listen.

One of the earliest lessons of the war had been the inadequacy of our State militia laws, and by the Governor's direction General Wm. H. Anthon, judge-advocate-general on his staff, had prepared the draft of a new law, which being introduced in the Assembly was referred to the military committee. This bill provided for the enrollment of able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years as liable to military duty and forming the militia of the State. This was divided into two classes—first the organized voluntary force to be known as the National Guard, to be armed, uniformed, equipped and otherwise aided at the expense of the State; detailed and definite provision was made for the organization and government of this force which under the terms of the Constitution was entitled to the election of its own officers. The remainder of the militia formed the reserve force subject to a draft of such number for active service as the public exigencies might demand from time to time, and detailed provisions were made for the conduct of such

drafts when so required. General Anthon was a lawyer of ability, and had carefully prepared this bill and discussed it before the committees of both houses. It was also considered, section by section, in the houses, and after the amendment of details was passed by a large vote in substantially the same general form as when introduced. This law provided for the appointment of an assistant inspector-general with the rank of colonel, to which place I was appointed on April 23, 1862, the day after the passage of the law which provided that the duties of the office should include the auditing of all accounts for military purposes. My general duties were the same as I had theretofore rendered, but were now recognized as worthy of high rank.

Beyond the appropriation for the regular military establishment no allotment of funds for future expenditures were made at this session comparable with those for 1861. The sum of \$50,000 for reimbursement of the militia regiments for their uniforms lost or destroyed in active service in the last year and the sum of \$500,000 for the payment of military expenses incurred in the State and not otherwise provided for were appropriated. I was secretary of the two boards of audit for claims payable from these appropriations.

It was now evident that the conduct of the war so far as concerned expenditures for the organization and equipment of the troops must be controlled by the United States, the States limiting their outlay to the support of the militia not in the general service, to works of benevolence, to such matters as concerned the appointment and promotion of regimental officers and the preparation and preservation of the records of all troops from each State, to which was added subsequently the cost of bounties for enlistment. The

State of New York had exceeded all others in its appropriation of funds for the war. 'In April 1861, in addition to the \$3,000,000 for raising two years volunteers (Chap. 277), there was appropriated \$500,000 to provide arms and equipments for the militia and provide for the public defence (Chap. 292). Under the former appropriation a contract was made with Schuyler, Hartley and Graham, of New York, on April 24, 1861, whereby the senior partner, Mr. Jacob R. Schuyler, was to proceed to Europe and purchase 25,000 stand of Enfield or Minie rifles or rifled muskets with bayonets and fixed ammunition for the same, and on August 20th a similar contract was made with the same parties to procure 10,000 stand of like arms for the militia payable from the fund appropriated for that end by Chapter 292. At the very outbreak of hostilities the dearth of arms at the North had been a grave matter for consideration. The national arsenals had been surreptitiously depleted and their contents sent to the slave States. There were but two armories making small arms, one at Springfield, Mass., and one at Harpers Ferry, Va., and the latter was captured by the rebels in April (1861) and destroyed by them when they evacuated that place two months later, and the capacity at Springfield was probably not more than 100 muskets per diem, but a drop in the bucket, while the private armories were not adapted to the making of military arms. There was, therefore, a great demand upon the European stocks of these articles, and agents of the United States and the various loyal States were early abroad competing with speculative buyers and agents of the insurgent States. Not only were arms of recent and improved kinds bought, but the stores of discarded arms in every country were gathered and sent to us. Old muskets from France, Austria, Belgium and England were shipped in large quantities up to the

middle of 1863, and many scandalous transactions resulted from the sale of these both to the United States and the States, and there was also the danger of such an introduction into active service of arms of different calibres as would confuse the proper distribution of ammunition and lead to disasters. On June 17th a general notice was issued by the chief of ordnance, that ammunition of the calibre of the United States muskets would alone be issued. From all these scandals and mishaps our State escaped through the good management of its officials, and no arms were purchased except Enfield rifled muskets of the regulation United States calibre of .58 inch. Of these Mr. Schuyler obtained for the two years volunteers 19,000 stand, and for the militia 6,080 stand at an average cost of about \$17.60 delivered at New York. The competition in Europe between the various agents became so strong and prices advanced so rapidly, both through the demand for America and several other countries, and the bids of speculators, that in November Secretary Cameron requested the States to withdraw their agents, leaving the procurement and supply of arms to the United States. Of course there was a general compliance with this request. There were purchased forty field pieces of 3.67 inch bore, rifled and reinforced at the breech on the "Parrott" principle, with carriages, caissons, short battery and forge wagons, with solid and hollow ammunition for the same. The guns known as "Parrott guns" were contracted for and made under the supervision of Major Richard Delafield, United States engineers, stationed at New York, whose advice and active labor were always at our disposal. I may add here that in the last two years of the war there was no dearth of rifled muskets. The Springfield armory turned out 1,000 of them daily, and the aggregate product by private armories equalled this.

The period of the second levy by the State beginning July 1, 1861, may be considered as ending on March 31, 1862,* and the force was distributed among the various arms of the service as follows:

65 regiments infantry	59,183 men
9 regiments cavalry.....	8,742 “
2 regiments engineers	1,880 “
3 regiments artillery	} 6,584 “
4 battalions artillery	
9 batteries artillery	
<hr/>	
Total in new organizations	76,389 “
Recruits sent to regiments, etc., in the field.....	12,500 “
<hr/>	
Total	*88,889 “

On December 3, 1861, was issued General Order No. 105 of the War Department, announcing that no more regiments, batteries or independent companies were to be raised by the States except upon special requisition, and providing an elaborate system of recruiting for regiments, etc., in the field. During the winter General McClellan and his division and brigade officers were actively engaged in drilling into effective condition the troops assembled at and near Washington, the greater part of them on the Virginia side of the Potomac. Not only were there regular daily exercises in company, regimental and brigade tactics, but frequent reviews whereby the army became conscious of its size and condition, and gained the con-

* In this levy is included much the greater part of the effective cavalry, engineers and artillery organized in the State during the whole war. The regiment composing the levy had a longer service and on the whole more severe service than the others.

fidence impaired by the disasters of 1861. General McClellan deserves great credit for his ability to convert these raw troops into an army, and he gained by it that admiration and enthusiastic attachment that survived his usefulness and was the cause of many cabals and conspiracies injurious to the cause of the Unionists. The muddy and impracticable condition of the Virginia roads was given as the cause of inactivity, and no engagements occurred during the whole winter, General Lee's line being in front of Manassas, so that the two armies confronted each other for two months. Our long remembered daily announcement in the papers was "All is quiet on the Potomac." This monotonous news irritated the ardent and impatient and soon there was a counter demand for an advance upon the enemy—"On to Richmond" was the cry that became vociferous when we heard of the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. When we heard our commanding officer's reply to General Buckner's proposal for a capitulation of Fort Donelson on February 16th in these words: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. *I propose to move immediately upon your works,*" there was a thrill of exultation and pride in the heart of every patriotic citizen, and thenceforth the name of "Ulysses S. Grant" was a household word beneath every loyal roof-tree. The demand for prompt and vigorous action on the Potomac was now overpowering; the knowledge that the army was in excellent condition and provided in every respect gave added strength to the demand. Succumbing to the popular pressure an advance was made on March 6th only to find the Rebel army gone, the earthworks provided with "Quaker" guns, the cantonment destroyed and the whole plan of the campaign frustrated by this unexpected

stratagem. The bitter disappointment and chagrin of our people was only relieved by the announcement that General McClellan, relieved from "the command of the army," that is of all the United States forces (March 11th), had projected a movement upon Richmond upon the line of the James river. This radical change in the road "On to Richmond" distracted all minds for the time from criticism of the failure at Manassas, and relying upon the superior intelligence and military genius of the general in command, we saw with high hopes the Army of the Potomac embark for "the peninsula" between Chesapeake bay and the James river.

No. 3.

THIRD LEVY—(FIRST PART) APRIL 1, 1862, TO DECEMBER 31, 1862.

THE record of the second levy ends with March 31, 1862, but I have not included within that period the dramatic episode of the Merrimac. It was known that the Confederate government was fitting this old naval vessel as an iron-clad with batteries protected by a sloping roof of iron plates and provided with a "ram" at its bows. It was reported that her destination was the seaboard cities of the North, and that New York was the favored objective point. During the discussion in the Legislature of the defenseless condition of that city so sharply suggested by our recent fears of a war with England, this probable attack by the Confederate iron-clad was considered and we again realized our helplessness. Only one desperate resource remained, and that was to collect in the upper bay all the available steam vessels, including ferry boats and tugs, and in a compact fleet to bear down upon the iron-clad and board her, and by mere overpowering numbers smother her. It was a barbaric project, like a thousand naked Indians overbearing a mailed knight; hundreds would be killed and numberless vessels destroyed, but in the end the enemy must have succumbed to the swarm of assailants. On March 8th came the telegraphic message from the Secretary of War that the Merrimac had that day destroyed the Cumberland and Congress and disabled the remainder of our fleet in Hampton Roads and would probably leave there immediately for New York. There were hurried councils

and telegraphic warnings sent to New York, where great alarm was felt, but before any preparations could be even improvised we heard of the theatrically opportune arrival of the "Monitor" at Hampton Roads on March 9th and of the retreat of the Merrimac at the end of that eventful day—a day that instantaneously changed the methods of naval warfare. It was the second escape of New York city within six months, and yet to this day when I write, twenty-seven years later, no adequate defence for the great metropolitan city has been provided.* Was there ever before such a shiftless, happy-go-lucky people?

On April 2d General McClellan reached Fortress Monroe, where his entire army of 115,000 men was soon after assembled to begin the famous "Peninsula campaign" which has since been the cause of so much discussion and acrimony. It was a splendid army both in personal and material elements; it had the most enthusiastic admiration for and confidence in its commander; every possible resource of the government had been freely drawn upon for its equipment; it had the good wishes, the confidence, the tearful prayers of our loyal people. It was the first grand army and the first great enterprise of that army in our efforts to restore the Union. We read with pride and joyous anticipation that the first advance would be to occupy the historic Yorktown, where the surrender of Cornwallis had practically closed our Revolutionary struggle and made us a nation. It seemed a happy augury that the first great encounter to preserve that nation would occur upon that memorable field. Day after day we heard that our army was confronting the rebel earthworks there; that breaching batteries were being constructed and great guns brought up from the fort, and that the attack was about to be made. I recall the discussions

* See Appendix "C."

around the Capitol, the newspaper dispatches, the official communications from Washington, the private advices from our troops, and in all these there was the single hue of trust in the commander and his army and reliance upon success. So those precious spring days slipped away and the army confronted the earth-works stretched across the peninsula for thirteen miles and so scantily manned, and yet such a formidable bugbear that our splendid army was paralyzed there for thirty days. We fretted at this obstacle, though in our simple faith we believed it insuperable, and thought our final triumph none the less assured because of the delay. And when on May 5th the works were taken because there were no troops defending them, we still were deluded by the idea that this was scientific warfare and therefore the best. Our small success at West Point, on York river, and the evacuation of Norfolk by the rebels seemed to be a foretaste of the speedy occupation of Richmond. Then came the repulse of our fleet under Commodore Rodgers at Drewrys Bluff, only eight miles below Richmond on the James river, and on the 20th of May we read that our army had reached the Chickahominy—a new, strange name not yet lurid with bloody disasters and miasmatic poison. I need not recount the story of those eventful weeks of alternate hope and depression, of how the celebrated “Stonewall” Jackson foiled our Generals McDowell, Banks and Fremont in the Shenandoah country and then rapidly joined his forces with Lee. From Seven Pines and Fair Oaks to Malvern Hill the various battles were waged for five hot pestilential weeks, and after a successful battle at Malvern Hill we learned on the fourth of July that our army had on the previous day retreated in disorder to Harrisons Landing on the James river. We could not believe that this was the fatal end of our campaign “On to Richmond;” we were beguiled by the announcement that

a "change of base" had been accomplished, a new phrase that was accepted as conveying the idea of consummate strategy. How many of us remember our first acquaintance with that specious phrase and its temporary consolations.

During these days of anxiety and suspense, matters had been very quiet in the military department of the State. Recruiting for regiments in the field was continued, but with very meagre results. We were absolutely bewildered by the conflict between our bright anticipations in May and the awful losses on the Chickahominy. If such an invincible army led by a "young Napoleon" could make no headway there was little encouragement for mere civilians to enlist. Strenuous efforts were made to return to the army the many absentees.*

Governor Morgan had daily a meeting of his staff to discuss openly all matters, and the head of each department brought forward matters for inquiry and consideration. Inspector-General Arthur being resident at New York, I represented our department at these daily reunions, which were productive of great benefit and harmony to the military administration. The fearful slaughter in the battles on the York and James rivers gave us a realizing sense of war in its more awful aspects. The ready water communication enabled the transportation of many of the wounded to purer air and

* In fact, absenteeism was a monstrous evil in the army. General Orders Nos. 60 and 61 of the War Department early in June, 1862, were directed against this insidious depletion of our active force. The latter orders said: "The great number of officers absent from their regiments without sufficient cause is a serious evil that calls for immediate correction," and this was in the very midst of the desperate struggle on the James River. Subsequently, in a Congressional investigation, it was asserted that hundreds of leaves of absence and furloughs from the Army of the Potomac during the Peninsula campaign were issued upon direct solicitation by Members of Congress. Such a scandalous misuse of official influence astonished us, but we subsequently became more accustomed to the unwarrantable interference with military matters by our legislators.

better attention at the North, where the land was aflame with pity, sympathy and zeal. One steamboat brought a load of the wounded to Albany, where they were transferred to the hospitals and engaged the constant ministrations of the compassionate. The sanitary and Christian commissions now began on a large scale those beneficent and wonderful tasks that will make their names immortal. Surgeon-General Vander Poel's suggestion that a corps of volunteer surgeons be organized to aid the regular medical staff in the field was approved by Secretary Stanton. General Vander Poel organized such a special corps, comprising some of the most highly qualified surgeons in the State, who were commissioned by Governor Morgan and under Surgeon-General Vander Poel's supervision rendered great aid in the field and hospital service during the terrible spring and summer of 1862. General Vander Poel went to Fortress Monroe in the latter part of April to superintend the transportation of the sick and wounded to the more bracing air of the North and made himself well acquainted with the needs of the medical service.

The disasters to our troops in the Shenandoah country led to a requisition upon us in the latter part of May for all our available National Guard regiments for a three months service, and 8,588 such troops were within a few days sent forward to Washington and the vicinity.*

On June 3d were issued general orders for the enrollment under the recent militia law of all persons in the State liable to militia duty. This work, under the provisions of the law, was to be performed by the officers of the National Guard. It was directed that

* These regiments were Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, Twenty-second, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-seventh and Seventy-first. When their three months term of service expired on September 1st, there had been nearly twice their number of new three year regiments sent to the field.

the enrollment should be complete by July 1st in order that the State might be prepared to meet further requisitions for troops by a draft from the great mass of the enrolled militia. There were, however, great differences of opinion in our staff council as to the expediency of abandoning volunteer enlistment and resorting to a draft. There had been two general orders issued providing for the organization of volunteers, one on November 26, 1861 (No. 113), and one on May 23, 1862 (No. 31), neither of which had accomplished any considerable result. This, however, was not so much attributable to the methods and their details as enjoined by such orders as to the general apathy prevalent at that period originating in the military conditions. Early in January a mixed military and naval expedition under General Ambrose E. Burnside and Commodore L. M. Goldsborough had sailed from Fortress Monroe for the North Carolina coast and obtained a lodgment on Roanoke Island which was the base of an occupation on Pamlico Sound that was never relinquished. Then we had the good news about Forts Henry and Donelson in Western Tennessee. About the end of February General Butler and Captain Farragut left Fortress Monroe with a mixed military and naval force for Ship Island, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in April came the glorious news of the passage of Forts St. Philip and Jackson, on the Mississippi river, and then of the capture of New Orleans. In this same month (April 6-7) was fought the desperate battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing in Tennessee near the Mississippi boundary, followed by our possession of the Mississippi river down to Vicksburg. But all these successful enterprises were in the West and Southwest, and our attention in New York was directed more to the Army of the Potomac, largely composed of our regiments. In fact during the entire war our closest sympathies were with this army—we had

regiments in other armies, I might say in all other armies; we mourned over our defeats and exulted over our victories wherever and by whomever fought, but still the armies in Eastern Virginia were not only nearest in distance but closer to our hearts and our imagination. From November 1st to March 1st that army was practically on guard in front of Washington, and the tiresome reiteration of its inaction, of its petty affairs of parades or discomforts, roused no such depth of interest or feeling as would stimulate recruiting.

The enrollment of the militia, impeded by the absence of so many officers of the National Guard in service, was not half completed when the series of disasters on "the Peninsula" ending in the retreat to Harrisons Landing, brought us face to face with the supreme peril of our cause and there was the most grave apprehension throughout the North. Upon an original invitation by Governor Morgan, nineteen Governors of the loyal States united on June 28th in an address to the President proposing that "in view of the important military movements now in progress and the reduced condition of our effective forces in the field" they respectfully request the President to call upon the several States for such numbers of men as would fill up the regiments in the field and also add largely to the volunteer armies then in the field, and furthermore expressing the strong desire of the citizens they represented "to aid promptly in furnishing all the reinforcements you may deem needful to sustain our Government." This vigorous address was answered in an equally prompt and vigorous tone by the President on July 1st in a call for 300,000 additional volunteers, to be chiefly infantry.

In the meantime the situation had been fully discussed and it was determined to adopt a new plan of recruitment, and one that, while stimulating local pride and emulation, would also engage the active

assistance of eminent and influential men in every part of the State. There are thirty-two State Senatorial Districts, and in each of these a regimental camp was to be established, and a district military committee composed of twelve or more prominent citizens selected from both political parties.* On July 2d Governor Morgan issued a stirring proclamation setting forth the pressing need of reinforcing the armies and appealing to all patriotic citizens to aid.† Then began the most glorious and purely patriotic endeavor of our Empire State, when her vast resources and endurance were strained to the utmost with such an outcome in men, considering their numbers and quality, as has never been surpassed. Then the days of labor by the Governor, the staff and subordinates seldom ended before midnight, and often were prolonged far beyond that hour. On July 7th were issued General Orders No. 52, prescribing the details of enlistment and organization of the troops to be raised under the President's call. Regimental camps were to be established in each Senatorial District, except in the first seven districts, comprising the counties of Suffolk, Queens, Richmond, Kings and New York, within which metropolitan districts persons organizing regiments might select the location of the camp subject to the approval of the Governor. A commander of each proposed regiment was to be designated by the Governor, to be commissioned on its completion; and in addition an adjutant, quartermaster and surgeon; the first two, upon the nomination of the commander, were to be appointed in advance by the Governor, and immediately mustered into service. Upon the application of persons approved by

* Unfortunately I am not able to give a list of the committeemen, which would form rolls of honor similar to the lists of like patriotic "War Committees" immediately before and during our Revolutionary War.

† Among the many responses to this appeal, reinforced by patriotic heat, was the proposal of a Sunday school teacher in New York to raise a company of soldiers to be composed of "professors of religion." No discrimination as to sect was named, but probably it "went without saying" that no Quakers were expected to enlist in the choice company.

the regimental commanders, the Governor would issue certificates granting authority to enroll volunteers, and entitling each person so authorized to the commission of second lieutenant when not less than thirty men were enrolled by him and had been mustered; of first lieutenant when not less than forty such men had been mustered, and of captain when eighty-three, the minimum of a company, had been mustered. Provision was made for the muster into service of the company and field officers when the proper number of recruits and companies had been mustered in. The pay of the enlisted men began from the date of enrollment, and of officers from the date of muster in. All the proper expenses of recruitment were payable by the United States mustering officers, and subsistence in camp was furnished by contractors, paid by the General Government. Clothing, equipments, etc., were to be issued to the proper regimental staff officers, upon requisitions upon the chiefs of the State military departments, who in turn obtained their supplies by requisition upon the proper officers of the General Government. There had been a great advance since the first levy. The Governor, as commander-in-chief, was now the supreme power and selected the commandants of the prospective regiments; authority to recruit came from him, upon the approval of these commandants, and every vestige of the system of election of officers had disappeared. We had learned that war was such a barbarous institution that it could not be conducted upon the democratic principles of our civil polity. The autocratic concentration of power in the Governor gave energy and harmony to our work, and this effect was manifested in every direction.* Now,

* But this was in reality a violation of the State Constitution, which provided that the militia should elect its own officers; and the volunteers were a part of the militia, for if they were not, then how could the Governor appoint and commission them? The United States Constitution provides that officers of the United States shall be appointed by the President and Senate, so these officers of volunteers were not officers of the United States; and if

too, we enjoyed fully the advantages of our Governor's position as major-general, which enabled prompt and favorable arrangements with the United States military establishment. Captain Henry C. Hodges, of the United States Quartermaster Department, was detailed as quartermaster on Major-General Morgan's staff. He was an excellent officer, efficient, vigorous and courteous. He is now a deputy quartermaster-general. Captain George W. Wallace, of the First United States Infantry, one of the unfortunate paroled officers of Twigg's command in Texas, was commissary of subsistence on the staff. He is now a lieutenant-colonel on the retired list.* The contracts made through these officers by the Governor aggregated a large sum, of which I kept a record and a copy of each contract, with a debit and credit account of all deliveries of supplies and payments thereon, and upon my check of the accounts they were approved by the Governor. Under this call it became necessary to concentrate at New York the requisitions for uniforms, blankets, tents, etc., to be filled there by Lieutenant-Colonel Vinton, deputy quartermaster-general United States Army, whose depot of supplies was on Broadway near Canal street. This concentration of work in New York, where General Arthur was resident, and more particularly his superior ability, caused an exchange of places between him and General Van Vechten, the former becoming, on July 9th, the quartermaster-general and the latter, inspector general.†

officers of the State, they were officers of the militia, the appointment of which that instrument concedes to the several States. It was another instance of the supreme need to suspend certain constitutional obligations in order to save the Union.

* Colonel Wallace was promoted major of the Sixth Infantry in 1862; lieutenant-colonel of the Twelfth Infantry in 1866. He was retired December 15, 1870, and died 12 October 1888.

† Regarding General Arthur's Headquarters, see Appendix B, "Headquarters, Depots, Etc."

Congress during the session ended July 17th had provided that every volunteer enlisting for three years should receive, when mustered into service, one-quarter of the bounty of \$100 provided by the act of July 22, 1861, and might also draw at the same time one month's pay. These were inducements to some extent, since they gave the recruit a fund to leave with his family, but in the competition between counties and States there was being paid in Massachusetts and Connecticut a further bounty which placed us at a serious disadvantage, and the discussions at our staff meetings led to the conviction that some further encouragement must be offered, and that to prevent rivalry and extravagant competition and outbidding, a uniform State bounty was advisable. Fortunately we had not only an energetic and courageous Governor, but an equally so Comptroller in Lucius Robinson. The State Constitution, in terms, forbade the payment of any money from the treasury or the contracting of any debt upon public account, except in pursuance of a law enacted by the Legislature. The Governor had power to convene that body, but this would delay action that must be immediate, if at all, and besides it was undesirable to add to the difficulties and distractions of that period by the convocation of a body that once in session would have power to transcend the purposes for which convoked. The Governor and Comptroller, after conferences with the officers of the principal banks at Albany and New York and the counsels of many prominent citizens, concluded to take the responsibility of borrowing and expending enough money to pay a bounty of fifty dollars to every recruit when mustered into service, enlisting either in the regiments about to be raised or in those in the field. These sagacious and intrepid officers believed that our patriotic citizens would insist that this action should be legalized by the Legislature at its next

session, and the general acquiescence and applause by the public press, when their determination was announced, seemed an earnest that they would not suffer.*

On July 17th the Governor issued a proclamation setting forth the desirability of a uniform bounty, the exigent demand for some action and that such a bounty of fifty dollars would be paid to each recruit. General Orders on July 19th prescribed the details of payment of this bounty, one-half when the recruit was accepted and the other half when his regiment was mustered into service. Under this stimulant, but more particularly through the general popular sentiment as to the need of military reinforcements, the patriotic endeavor of the several district committees and the emulation of localities, the enlistments day after day exceeded by far any period of the war. The staff departments were humming like beehives; committeemen from every district were arriving and departing; authorizations to raise companies were issued daily by the hundred and every nerve and muscle were strained to keep pace with the popular ardor and to provide for the swarms of recruits at every camp. In the meantime the enrollment of the militia was slowly progressing, and as it was a menace of the much-feared draft, it added to the incentives to rapid recruitment. I also had in hand the preparatory work for the several auditing boards for military claims, of which I was the secretary. The unprecedented rapidity of enlistments and their collection at so many camps caused the issue of General Orders No. 62, on July 28th, providing for a systematic and regular inspection of the camps by the Inspector-General's Department. For this purpose Colonel John Bradley,

* The total amount of the bounties paid under this arrangement reached \$2,721,050, and the Legislature at its session in 1863 passed an act legalizing the payment and providing means to reimburse the patriotic banks that had advanced the funds.

who had been acting as our State agent at Washington, and Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, one of the Governor's aids, were attached to our department as acting assistant inspector-generals. The State was divided into four grand districts of inspection: General Van Vechten taking the metropolitan district of New York city, Long and Staten islands; to me were assigned the camps at Yonkers and Sing Sing, Newburgh and Goshen, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Hudson, Albany, Troy, Salem, Plattsburgh, Schoharie, Fonda, and Mohawk and Herkimer. The other camps were divided between Colonels Bradley and Shepard. A sketch of my duties under this order for three weeks may give a clear idea of the great work of reinforcing our armies that was so successfully and gloriously accomplished by our State in the summer and autumn of 1862. On July 29th I left Albany early for Newburgh, where, after a hurried conference with some members of the district committee, one of their number, Mr. A. Post, accompanied me to New Windsor to see Mr. A. Van Horn Ellis, the selected commandant of the regiment. Mr. Ellis had a beautiful residence on the banks of the river and every reason to enjoy life. He was one of the devoted men of the day who felt that their place was in the field of danger. After some talk as to the relative merits of Newburgh or Goshen as the location of the camp, I left for Kingston, where Mr. George H. Sharpe had been selected as commandant of what was to be the One Hundred and Twentieth Regiment. The camp was placed upon a plain near the village, and some recruits were already collected and under canvas. The adjutant and quartermaster were gaining some intelligence in their duties. On the 31st I visited Hudson, where David S. Cowles, a prominent lawyer, had been selected as commandant of the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regiment. Few recruits had as yet been collected, but the reports

were very favorable. Here, as at Newburgh and Kingston, I was deeply impressed by the earnest and serious interest in military matters evinced by every one I met. The members of the district committees were very active, but it was the general popular sense of the gravity of the situation that was most noteworthy. On August 1st I reached Fonda, where many recruits were collected, as also at Mohawk, where the camp was being laid out upon a height above the river, opposite Herkimer. Upon my return to Albany I induced the Governor to modify his order that barracks should not be built, but tents issued for encampment, for such were the increasing numbers of enlistments that tents could not possibly be procured in time. On Monday, the 4th of August, I inspected the One Hundred and Thirteenth Regiment at Albany, which was quartered at the "industrial school" barracks, occupied by us since April of the previous year. Many of the new regiments were to be commanded by officers of the regular army and others by experienced officers from our State volunteer regiments in the field. They thus went into service with a great advantage over those of the earlier levies. The colonel of the One Hundred and Thirteenth was Captain Lewis O. Morris, of the First Regiment Artillery, United States Army. He was killed before Cold Harbor on June 4, 1864, and Major E. A. Springsteed was killed in action at Reams Station, Va., on August 25, 1864. The regiment had been converted into the Seventh Heavy Artillery.

I reached Plattsburgh on the morning of August 5th, where the camp had been placed at the old United States barracks on the bluff overlooking Lake Champlain, south of the village. This regiment (the One Hundred and Eighteenth) was commanded by Samuel T. Richards, an experienced militia officer and excellent disciplinarian, who had already begun the erection of additional quar-

ters near the barracks. The next day I was at Salem, Washington county, where the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment was organizing under the command of Archibald L. McDougall, a young lawyer of Salem, and who died June 23, 1864, of wounds received in action near Dallas, Ga. Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Norton of this regiment was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville, Va.

At Troy, the next day, I found a large collection of recruits in a camp on the banks of the Hudson north of the city. The adjutant and quartermaster, overburdened by their regular duties, could give no attention to the discipline, and everything was in a disorganized state. Hon. John A. Griswold, a wealthy and prominent citizen of Troy, was the titular commander until relieved by Captain George L. Willard, Eighth Regiment Infantry, United States Army. I learned that the district committee was in session in the city hall, whither I repaired and made a most vigorous protest against the condition of the camp, threatening to advise the transfer of recruits to Albany. Being told that Mr. Griswold could not take active command at the camp, I induced the selection of Colonel Levi Crandell, an old militia officer, and who became lieutenant-colonel of the regiment (the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth). Colonel Willard was killed at Gettysburg, and Major Aaron B. Myer died of wounds received in the Wilderness. I mention the names of the field officers of these regiments that were killed in battle to show the great mortality on that account.

On the 8th I went to Schenectady to see if Prof. Elias Peissner, of Union College, could be selected as commander of the regiment in that district, but learned that he had accepted the command of a regiment organizing in New York, and which became the One Hundred and Nineteenth. Colonel Peissner was killed at the battle of Chancellorsville, Va. The regiment in this district was the

One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, with camp at Schoharie, which I visited on the 9th and found some progress made. The temporary commander was Brigadier-General George E. Danforth, of the National Guard, but the colonel was Captain Charles R. Coster, first lieutenant Twelfth Infantry, United States Army, who had not yet reported for duty. From the 9th to the 11th I was engaged in cleaning up my office work at Albany.

The reports from all parts of the State were of a most encouraging character, and the regiment (One Hundred and Seventh) at Elmira was about complete and several others were nearly so. Governor Morgan was absolutely indefatigable. He had a vigorous physical constitution that enabled him to work sixteen hours a day in these momentous days, and everyone else responded, though some of them at the risk of health and life. Adjutant-General Hillhouse had a great capacity for work and had an excellent staff of clerks. The correspondence and personal conferences conducted in this office at this time were very large. Quartermaster-General Arthur exhibited great executive ability, though embarrassed by the failure of the United States officers to fill his requisitions. In fact, the unexpectedly rapid progress of enlistment astounded everyone.* On August 11th I went to New York to confer with General Arthur about supplies for the One Hundred and Thirteenth, One Hundred and Fifteenth, One Hundred and Twentieth and One Hundred and Twenty-first regiments in my district, all of which were rapidly approaching completion. I also submitted plans of

* On August 9th was published the order of the President, dated on the 4th, for a draft of 300,000 militia to be called into immediate service for nine months, the maximum term under the act of July 17, 1862. General Orders No. 99 of the War Department provided that the draft should be conducted under orders of the Governors of the several States. The imminent prospect of a draft greatly stimulated the endeavors of the several localities to fill their respective quotas. An account of the enrollment and the reasons for abandoning the draft will be given later.

temporary barracks that I had recommended at the several camps, of light and rough construction, sided and roofed with inch hemlock boards and constructed by the recruits, among whom there were artisans of every kind. Separate buildings 96 feet long by 20 feet wide, 13 feet high on the sides and 19 1-2 feet high at the roof peak, were of the most convenient size, enabling the use of 13-foot boards without cutting, except for large doors and gable windows at the ends. Four rows of bunks, each three tiers high, extended the full length, and afforded accommodation in each building for 180 men. The sides were not battened, but spaces were left between the boards, affording sufficient ventilation, though the later regiments complained of this free admission of air in the cooler weather. The contractors for subsistence usually built in the same manner the mess rooms and kitchens, while the officers were generally provided with wall tents. Of course these structures were flimsy and unsubstantial, but they subserved their purpose at a very trifling cost, since the lumber had a certain value after this temporary use.

On the 12th I inspected the camp at Goshen, where five barracks such as I have described were completed, but the messroom and kitchens not being yet done the recruits were being boarded about town at a cost of about thirty-five cents each per day. Colonel Ellis, of this regiment (One Hundred and Twenty-fourth), and Major Cromwell were killed at Gettysburg. I went the next day to Sing Sing, where I found very little progress made and a general opinion that the camp should be located at Yonkers, which I telegraphed to Governor Morgan, and received permission to so change the camp. This change, however, delayed the completion of the regiment, which otherwise would have been one of the very first mustered in. It was organized as the One Hundred and

Thirty-fifth Infantry, and subsequently became the Sixth Artillery. The colonel was Captain William H. Morris,* assistant adjutant-general, United States Volunteers. The lieutenant-colonel, J. Howard Kitching, who succeeded to the command of the regiment, died January 10, 1865, from wounds received in action. At Kingston, the next day (August 14th), I found great progress had been made; 444 men mustered and 400 more reported as enlisted; but the quarters were inadequate, and as none of the men were uniformed there were more of them loafing about the village than there were in camp, where they appeared merely as a mob. Adjutant Tuthill was so absorbed in his routine work that he could give no attention to other matters, and Colonel Sharpe was engaged in a personal canvass of his district to urge enlistments, and so could not attend to the discipline in camp. Captain S. S. Westbrook had completed his company and been mustered into the United States service, and

* General William H. Morris was born in Fordham, Westchester county, N. Y. Graduated from West Point in the class of 1851. He was assigned to the Second Infantry, but resigned in 1854 to become assistant editor of the New York Home Journal, where he was found at the outbreak of hostilities. He served in the defenses of Washington as captain and assistant adjutant-general from August 20, 1861, to March, 1862. In the Peninsula campaign he acted on the staff of General J. J. Peck and took part in the siege of Yorktown and the battles of Williamsburg and Fair Oaks. He was appointed colonel of the One Hundred and Thirty-fifth New York Volunteers, which later became the Sixth Heavy Artillery. As brigadier-general he was in command at Harpers Ferry and Maryland Heights from December, 1862, to June, 1863; in reserve at the battle of Gettysburg; engaged at Wapping Heights July 23, 1863; in the Rapidan campaign; in the action of Locust Grove, Va., November 29, 1863; in the Richmond campaign, Army of the Potomac; the battle of the Wilderness May 5, 1864; battle of Spottsylvania May 9, 1864, where he was severely wounded. He was mustered out of service August 24, 1864. Was brevetted major-general March 13, 1865, for gallant services in the battle of the Wilderness. He is the inventor of the conical repeating carbine and automatic ejecting revolver. He was the author of a system of infantry tactics. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York in 1867, chief of ordnance of the State of New York January 1 to October 26, 1870, and inspector-general January 1, 1873, to December 31, 1874.

upon my suggestion was made acting commandant of the camp, where he soon assembled the recruits, who, though as yet deprived of their equipment, were well sheltered and fed. Indeed the subsistence furnished this levy was of an excellent quality, and the contractors seemed to have imbibed the patriotic fervor of the hour. In some cases the rations were enriched by extra articles furnished by the district committees. I recall butter as so furnished at Hudson, and other "camp luxuries" at other places. At Hudson I found the camp on the agricultural fair grounds, and some needlessly extravagant barracks being built, though I arrived in time to change the plans of three of them. Colonel Cowles, of this regiment (One Hundred and Twenty-eighth), was killed in action at Port Hudson. I then inspected the camps at Fonda and Mohawk, both placed upon slightly hills with excellent drainage, but far from any water supply. At both places the buildings were completed and a change of location inadvisable. These camps were fortunate in the contractor for rations, Mr. John H. Starin, who has since become a very wealthy and prominent citizen of our State, but none of whose business concerns can have been more creditable than were these contracts to feed our recruits, in which he exhibited his great business sagacity and enterprise, supplemented by patriotic ardor. He supplied at his own expense water-works, whereby both these camps had an abundance of pure water. The regiment at Fonda (One Hundred and Fifteenth) was commanded by Colonel Simeon Sammons, Mr. Starin's uncle, and that at Mohawk (One Hundred and Twenty-first) by Colonel Richard Franchot. The latter, who was then a member of Congress, had accepted the command as *locum-tenens* for Lieutenant Emory Upton, of the Fourth Regiment Artillery, United States Army. On the 18th I was engaged all day in making the final provision of supplies for the One

Hundred and Thirteenth Regiment at Albany, which the next day was fully mustered, all bounties and advance wages paid, and on that evening (19th) started for Washington, being the first regiment going forward from my grand district.

On the morning of the 19th I was at Plattsburgh, where everything was in fine condition, and at the evening parade about 650 men of the One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment were in line, exhibiting a state of discipline and training quite honorable to Colonel Richards and Adjutant Charles E. Pruyn, the latter of whom, subsequently promoted to the majority, was killed in action before Petersburg in June, 1864. I found several deserters in arrest, as also one Antoine Bouchard for assisting desertion. The proximity of the Canadian border at this point, readily accessible by Lake Champlain, made this one of the principal points for the exit to Canada of both deserters and copperheads. Mr. Ladue, the sheriff of Clinton county, and his deputies were kept constantly engaged in guarding against these desertions.

Military matters in Virginia were now more urgent and important than ever. General Pope was now in command of our main army, but the rebels, encouraged by McClellan's unsuccessful campaign, were threatening Washington. On August 9th our General Banks had been defeated at Cedar Mountain by "Stonewall" Jackson, and there were indications of an advance in force upon the capital. The demand for reinforcements were almost daily, and Governor Morgan was straining every nerve to meet them. On the 20th I received an order from him to send daily at 8 p. m. a brief report of every matter of importance connected with the regiment I had inspected, particularly the date when ready to move, and my "proposed destination for the next ensuing day." From Plattsburgh I went to Salem, where I found the regiment

two-thirds full and in good condition. I took tea with Colonel McDougall and his wife at their pleasant home, where in less than two years she became one of the thousands of widows whose mourning pervaded the land. I recall her gentle melancholy that evening as if dark forebodings assailed her heart.

The next day, at Troy, I found the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Regiment nearly full, and from there again to Fonda, where the One Hundred and Fifteenth only lacked a few of completion. Upon reporting in person to the Governor on the 23d, he said that he was much embarrassed about the payment of so many regiments to be completed almost simultaneously; that Paymaster-General George Bliss had accepted as assistants in this work Colonel Arden, one of his aides, and Mr. Frederick G. Burnham. But the Governor did not deem this aid sufficient, and had proposed that I should also make these payments. Colonel Bliss, a man of remarkable energy and activity, ever insistent upon the control of his own field of labor, had protested against my detail, saying he would not be responsible for me under his bonds. The Governor, however, did detail me, being himself my only surety, and I subsequently paid the bounty to twelve regiments, the total sum received by the enlisted men in these being \$553,225 (to 11,065 men). I will add here that Colonel Bliss was soon reconciled to my detail, treated me with kind consideration and publicly thanked me for my assistance. I paid regiments at Fonda, Mohawk, Syracuse, Buffalo, Portage, Jamestown, Brooklyn, Troy and Staten Island. Thus in inspection and pay duties I was enabled to view the progress and character of this levy in all parts of the State. This payment of bounty was the most severe and exacting labor I ever performed; everything was pressing and hasty; daily telegrams to the Governor from the President or Secretary Stanton

urged the need of prompt reinforcements, and the Governor, in turn, furiously spurred all his subordinates to incessant activity. The regiments were mustered into the United States service on the day before or often on the very day of payment, and the muster-rolls were in many cases very confusing and misleading, particularly where there had been a cotemporaneous equalization of companies, so that the officers and the men themselves were uncertain where they belonged. At the same time the State bounty was being paid the United States paymaster was paying the advance of United States bounty and the month's pay, and the allotment commissioners were procuring the allotments of pay. There was the further difficulty that a part of the men had received a moiety of the State bounty and another part had not, and as the regiment was under orders to march the very next day after the payment, there was no chance for the correction of any errors. I was totally unversed in the counting of money, and these separate sums, a thousand for each regiment, had to be counted, not behind a quiet, safe, bank counter, but in the open air, amid a hundred distractions, with a rough packing case for a table, and sometimes in a breeze that threatened to disperse money and pay-rolls in a most irregular manner. Our money was in the then novel form of "greenbacks" or Treasury notes,* fresh from the printing press, and the soft, green pigment constantly coated my fingers so that I had to have a basin of water beside me in which to wash them at frequent intervals.

* These "greenbacks" were an interesting novelty at every camp where I had disbursed them. It may be appropriate to say here that the National Bank system inaugurated by Secretary Chase was practically the same as the Free Bank system in operation in New York State since 1842—at least in the basic method of securing the notes issued for circulation. The system had been imperfectly imitated in other States, but in New York the security exacted was as stable as that on which the National Bank notes rest.

My first payment was that of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Regiment, at Fonda, on August 27th, where there had been a hurried equalization of companies the night before and a recast of the muster and pay rolls by Adjutant Horton, a most worthy man, but of a nervous temperament and lack of strict business training that seriously disqualified him for his office, and his rolls were in such a confused state that the United States mustering officer, the United States paymaster, Major Paulding, and I were all day engaged in endeavors to properly decipher them. I found another morbidly nervous adjutant when I paid the One Hundred and Thirtieth Regiment, at Portage, on September 1st, and what an anxious day that was. The downpour of rain was copious and constant, and I did not finish my task until near midnight, paying for five hours at the broad door of a leaky barrack, by the light of two flaring tallow candles stuck in beer bottles. A relay of company officers tried to screen the flame with their hands, but so ineffectually that we were occasionally in darkness, except for the dim rays of a stable lantern. Poor Cawee, the adjutant, resigned a month later and shortly after ended his life by suicide.

The amount of work performed by Colonel Bliss within two months was a remarkable exhibition of physical endurance, and I felt myself the terrible strain of the daily struggle with responsibility and endeavor, with wakeful nights of travel and preparation. While on this duty I met Colonel Bliss, at New York, on September 8th, when he finally succumbed for a day or so to a severe attack of diarrhea, impatient and fretful over even so small a delay.

During the first week of this duty I was so engrossed with it that I did not read a newspaper, and so was unaware of what was going on in the field, and I recall my grief and depression, on reach-

ing Buffalo on the morning of August 31st, to learn of Pope's great defeat at the second battle of Bull Run—ill-fated name. I got this news from Mr. Charles Van Benthuyssen, of Albany, who, with his wife, was at the same hotel, and who, being a red-hot copperhead, though usually disguising his disloyal sentiments in a politic manner, could not conceal his glee over a disaster that he said proved the failure of the war. While I did not conceal my disgust at his sentiments (our fathers had been business partners many years before), I was eager to get the papers and assure myself of the situation, and blue enough it looked. There probably never was a darker period in the whole war than after this last of General Pope's failures, and this darkness was made more distressing by the sneers and chuckling of the copperheads on one side and the "I told you so's" of McClellan's partisans, who attributed all our misfortunes to the displacement of their favorite and hero. On September 1st occurred the battle of Chantilly,* another bloody contest, and the last one under General Pope, who, the next day, relinquished command of the Army of the Potomac.

On August 30th the Governor, by proclamation, announced that he believed the quota of the State, by the organization of new regiments and by enlistment of recruits for those in the field, was about filled, therefore the State bounty for the former would cease after September 5th, but be continued for recruits for the older

* In this battle was killed General "Phil" Kearny, a characteristic "beau sabreur." I saw him at our office in Albany when he came in June, 1861, to see General Patrick. Both had served in the Mexican War, where Kearny lost an arm. He had been unable to get a suitable command from the authorities of New Jersey, his native State, and had come to see if he could not get him a commission from New York. This matter was not decided, but he soon after was appointed by the President a brigadier-general of volunteers. I can recall his gallant soldierly bearing and his empty sleeve, that in the early days of our military tutelage appealed sharply to my sympathy.

regiments. Our quota, under the call of July 2, 1862, was 59,700, and as active recruiting did not begin until July 18th, nearly 60,000 men had been enlisted in six weeks; a remarkable result. Giving proper credit for popular patriotic zeal, and for the extraordinary exertions of the State authorities, there is no doubt they were aided in this vast achievement by President Lincoln's order on August 4th for a draft of 300,000 militia, to serve nine months, to be made under the act of July 17, 1862.

During this period many recruits for our regiments in the field had been forwarded. The conduct of the General Government regarding the recruiting service was as irregular and spasmodic as its disposition regarding the raising of new regiments. General Orders No. 105 of the War Department, issued December 3, 1861, provided a detailed system for recruiting, and Major J. T. Sprague, First Infantry, was appointed general superintendent of that service for our State, but on April 3, 1862, this service was abandoned and the officers detailed to it were ordered to join their regiments. Two months later, on July 6th, the service was resumed. Of course such desultory efforts were not productive of much good; indeed, the long delay of the army in winter quarters before Washington repressing recruiting as being needless, and the subsequent disasters in the essay "On to Richmond" were even more discouraging. I recall protests against the publication in the newspapers of the terribly long lists of killed, wounded and missing as seriously impeding efforts to reinforce the army, as if the repression of such facts would not have bred imaginary horrors a hundred fold more vivid. Pope's later campaign had produced many such lists of losses. At the second battle of Bull Run fifty-two commissioned officers of New York regiments were killed in action, and by this can be judged the further number who died of wounds and of the losses in the ranks.

During August and September there were reports of reverses in Kentucky, and on September 2d General McClellan was made general commanding the Army of the Potomac, vice Pope. On September 8th, General Lee having crossed the Potomac at the fords near Leesburg and encamped at Frederick, issued an appealing address to the people of Maryland, who, during the whole war, were presumed by both sides as friendly. It was the first invasion, in force, of the loyal States, and we beheld with alarm a great army forty miles north of Washington, and we had to oppose it an army that had suffered fearfully from overconfidence and poor strategy, but by its unhappy vicissitudes converted into an army of stalwart veterans inured to but undismayed by defeat.

On September 14th was fought the battle of South Mountain, and on the 17th that of Antietam, both severe engagements, and substantially drawn battles, though after the latter Lee was able to recross the Potomac practically without molestation. In these battles fifty-seven New York regiments were engaged, two of which, the One Hundred and Seventh and One Hundred and Eighth Infantry of our third levy, had left the State only a month previously, and at Antietam received their "baptism of fire." Our regiments lost more than seventy commissioned officers killed on the field. These new lists of casualties again filled the land with mourning, while the facile return of the enemy to the south bank of the Potomac was discouraging. It did seem as if thousands of lives were being sacrificed without any permanent advantage, though this may also have been the dismal conclusion of the Confederates after their repulse in Maryland.* It was a strange coincidence that their President, Davis, had by proclamation named the 18th day of September as

* The failure to pursue Lee was probably attributable to the exhaustion of two severe battles in which all our force was engaged, leaving no fresh reserves to follow up success.

a day of prayer, inviting the people of the Confederate States to assemble for worship and to render thanks for the triumphs over our armies at Chantilly, Manassas, etc., and that on that very day Lee's broken columns should be on their retreat southward.

*We had in August and September several alarms that the Confederate iron-clad Merrimac No. 2 was about to sally out from the James river and devastate our seaboard cities. Portentous descriptions of the invulnerability and powerful armament of this vessel were received through Southern channels, but she failed to appear. Incidentally, may be mentioned here, the vast mass of rumors, originating in fervid imaginations, or concocted with purposes more or less malign, that vexed us during the whole war. Some of these frauds were punished, notably an impudent one hatched by a New York newspaper man who had a chance to cool his heated fancies in the casemates of Fort Lafayette. The public mind was so occupied by the facts and fallacies concerning the details of the war that it now seems astonishing that any attention could be given to other matters. In those far-off days we first became accustomed to the cry of "Extra! Extra!!" often startling us in the midnight and suggestive of slaughter and bereavements.†

* During the period when paying bounty to regiments near New York, I found General Arthur overwhelmed by the amount and multiplicity of duties devolving upon him, and such time as my own duties as paymaster did not exact I aided him, since there was no officer of sufficient rank in his office to transact important business. I had been his assistant when inspector-general and we were college mates, and I know he had confidence in my fidelity and capacity. The result was that he induced the Governor to detail me to assist him, particularly in transportation matters, and from that time—October 1st, 1862—until I finally left the State military service on January 1, 1869, my official headquarters were in New York city.

† It was an unknown blessing in those days that the era of the "yellow journals" had not come. Their rumors and lies during the recent Spanish war hatched an "extra" every half hour, and even more often, for Wall Street consumption.

As a whole, the newspaper correspondents in the field were conscientious and careful men, and such erroneous dispatches as were sent were attributable to the confusion and distractions incident to battle, only a small part of which any single observer can see, and to competitive endeavors to give their papers the earliest news before it could be verified. We gradually became inured to the possibly untrustworthy character of the first accounts of military events.

On September 22d President Lincoln issued his ever-memorable proclamation declaring the emancipation on January 1, 1863, of all slaves in the States then in rebellion. This famous State paper worked powerful influences in every direction. It was the first authoritative announcement that the extinction of slavery had become the objective point of the war for the preservation of the Union, since the limitation of emancipation to the revolting States could not prevent as its logical result the extinction of slavery throughout the restored Union. There had been a certain lack of courage and candor on this point. The relation of slavery to secession, kept in the background by the South, had not been acknowledged by our side for reasons of policy that in part were specious only. There was a fear of disaffecting the border slave States still loyal, but in reality the effect on these was slight. There had been a reserved idea that the inviolability of slavery would be a bridge over which in extremity the seceded States would return, but this was a hopeful fallacy. The proclamation invigorated the North and gave to our friends in England such support as enabled them to enforce the continuance of a neutrality that was obnoxious to the ruling classes and probably to a majority of the English people. It had the same repressive effect in France. But while the proclamation was joyfully received by the great mass of our people, it

gave precision and vigor to the protestations of the "Copperhead element,"* which now with renewed virulence accused the administration of tyranny, disregard of the Constitution and subversion of all law and right.

* The prominent representative of this element at Albany was Colonel Walter S. Church, whose audacity and skill in dialectics and caustic invective were remarkably exasperating. While we were all enraged by the vaporings of the Copperheads, there was no general effort to prevent their freedom of utterance. Some of them wore as a badge the head of "Liberty," made by filing away the material surrounding that effigy on the large copper cent piece of that day—a "copperhead" indeed but at the same time a reminder of the privilege of perfect liberty. I believe that the injurious influence of this class of citizens was not so much an encouragement of the rebellious States as the intimidation of our own government, which magnified the numbers of the Northern protestants and their influence on public sentiment.

No. 4.

THIRD LEVY (CONTINUED)—APRIL 1, 1862, TO DECEMBER 1, 1862.

THE tenderness of the "secession sympathizers" in the North for the institution of slavery is a remarkable instance of the insuperable bigotry of political partisanship. They inveighed against the edict of General Butler at Fortress Monroe in 1861 that slaves were "contraband of war"; and while asserting that they were property, they claimed their immunity from the general military liabilities of property. Every act or movement in the war that tended to weaken the institution so sacred in their eyes called forth their unmeasured denunciations. They had a regular bureau for the dissemination of pro-slavery literature, and it is wonderful in the light of to-day to read these publications deifying and consecrating the vile monster of human servitude a few brief months before its extinction. And the most sad effect of this propagandism of the degradation of the negro race was the stimulation of the hatred of the blacks so long cultivated in the benighted minds of our foreign population, and finding expression in such acts of violence as the attack of an infuriated mob upon the inoffensive colored working men and women in Brooklyn on August 4, 1862, and to the frightful atrocities during the New York riot in July, 1863. I think that the loyal men of those days still living can forgive and forget the Southern rebels and give them fraternal greet-

ing, for their education (civil and religious), self-interest, in fact every condition of their lives might find an excuse for their revolt. But the copperhead of the North can never be forgiven—he sinned in the light, in a light after April, 1861, such as that that overcame Saul on the roadside.*

In the latter part of September there was a remarkable convention of Governors of Northern States at Altoona, Pa. Governor Morgan had declined the invitation to attend; there were present the Governors of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Rhode Island, Virginia, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and New Hampshire. The motive of the conference was, I believe, to impress upon the President the necessity of a more vigorous policy; the apparent failure thus far to suppress the rebellion was the alleged cause of great popular dissatisfaction. The Governors went from Altoona to Washington and had audience with the President, but nothing practical resulted from their concerted action. In fact the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation a day or so before their meeting took from the latter any importance it otherwise might have had. Governor Morgan was shrewd or fortunate in being able to decline a participation in this meeting because of the exigency of his official concerns.

Before October 1 (1862) we had sent into the field forty-three infantry regiments, four battalions and one battery of artillery,

* The headquarters of these secession sympathizers in New York city was the old "New York Hotel" on Broadway, between Washington and Waverley places, which was demolished about 1896. This hotel had been a favorite with visitors from the Slave States. Many can recall the groups who lounged about the hotel entrance in the war times and whose countenances were infallible indices of the varying military conditions; if these were favorable to us the faces were glum and dejected, but if we had reverses there were exulting smiles and derisive laughter to give a sharper flavor to our discomfiture as we passed by.

being a total of 43,350 officers and men, and leaving in camp in the incomplete organizations a little over 10,000 more, which, with the 14,305 recruits sent to the field, much more than filled our quota of 59,700 men under the President's call of July 2d for 300,000 volunteers for three years.

From October 1st there was a perceptible sag in the enlistments. As before stated, the State bounty of \$50 for enlistment in the new regiments ceased on September 5th, and by a subsequent proclamation by the Governor, the same bounty for recruits for regiments in the field ceased on September 30th. There had been additional bounties given by committees and town and county officials, but the announcement that the quota of three-years men was filled relaxed personal and local interest, though a similar quota of nine-months militiamen remained to be furnished.

Of the supreme and glorious achievement of the State of New York in July and August, more will be said later, and the subject of the contemplated draft will be considered now.

Our experience in 1861 had not been altogether favorable as to the policy of a continued dependence upon volunteering to supply troops should the war be greatly prolonged. After the first burst of enthusiasm had filled our thirty-eight regiments under the first levy, the progress of recruitment was very slow, the most potent influence for a while being the efforts in cities and counties to enlist full regiments. The raising of the second levy extending from August 1, 1861, to March 31, 1862, and excluding the irregular regiments raised during the first excitement, but remanded to State authority, comprised about 75,000 men, whose enlistment extended over a period of eight months. Under the State General Orders of November 26, 1861, and May 23, 1862, not a single regiment was raised, though every inducement was given to those ambitious of

a commission. Adjutant-General Hillhouse, in his annual report sent to the Legislature in January, 1862, recommended the adoption of a militia system similar to that of Germany, based upon the liability to military service of every citizen of proper age and condition of body. Obviously such a system could not be immediately established in the midst of a great war. Judge-Advocate-General Anthon recognizing the principle of compulsory service, tried to apply it practically and equitably in the militia law drafted by him and enacted April 25, 1862, substantially as introduced. This provided for an enrollment of all citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, with exemptions for physical disability, also of firemen who were in active service or had served their time as firemen, and of those exempt under the laws of the United States. The active force of the militia was called the National Guard, and comprised eight divisions under a major-general and geographically coterminous with the eight grand Judicial Districts of the State; thirty-two brigades corresponding with the Senatorial Districts and one hundred and twenty-eight regiments corresponding with the Assembly Districts, with a proper contingent of cavalry and artillery. Where regiments were not formed or filled by volunteers from the body of the militia, they were to be filled by draft from the respective districts. The entire militia thus organized and with a maximum strength of over 130,000 officers and men, exclusive of cavalry and artillery, could be ordered into the United States service at once, in whole or any part of the same, and provision was made for an organization in the same geographical districts of additional regiments, etc., until the supply of men was exhausted. The enrollment of the militia under this law was ordered on June 3, 1862, and, as before mentioned, progressed very slowly and irregular.

The act of Congress of July 17, 1862, provided that the President might call forth the militia of the States for a period of nine months, and "If by reason of defects in existing laws, *or in the execution of them* in the several States, or in any of them, it shall be found necessary to provide for enrolling the militia and otherwise putting this act into execution, the President is authorized in such cases to make all necessary rules and regulations; and the enrollment of the militia shall in all cases include all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and shall be apportioned among the States according to representative population." This sketchy and tentative provision was the first step toward the assertion of the absolute military supremacy of the United States. I have mentioned (pages 33-34) the early discussions as to the status of the volunteer forces and my own opinion that they were a part of the militia of the several States.* The military power granted in the Constitution to the United States is comprised in three allowances in Section 8, Article I, conferring power on Congress "to provide for the common defence," "to raise and support armies" and "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." It was held by those favoring the provision in the act of July 17, 1862, above quoted, that the constitutional grant of power to provide for the general defence and to raise and support armies was so large and definite as to be practically unqualified. But it must be considered in connection with the third power "to

* Some of the Constitutional points raised regarding the military powers granted to the General Government and the reservation to the States of certain powers regarding the militia have been previously touched upon, but it seems expedient to repeat them in discussing the culmination of the gradual extinction of most of these reserved powers arising from the supreme exigencies of the nation.

call forth the militia" upon which dependence is to be placed in the supreme emergencies of insurrection or invasion. It is obvious that the framers of the Constitution were apprehensive of too great military power in the general government; their reading of history convinced them that the greatest danger encountered by a republic was that of conversion into a military dictatorship; in this as in many other directions their indisposition to concentrate power led them into undue conservatism. That the supreme defence of the Union was made dependent upon the militia is further shown by the grant of power to Congress to provide for the organization, arming and discipline of the militia, so that if drawn from different States and incorporated in one army there should be uniformity in these important conditions, and the President is made commander-in-chief of the militia when in the service of the United States. Among the ten declaratory amendments to the Constitution proposed in the first Congress and subsequently ratified by the States was this, "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." In all these provisions the militia is assumed to be an institution of the States, and is so recognized in their several Constitutions and laws. The law of 1862 was, therefore, one of those radical departures from precedent deemed necessary for the preservation of the Union, and as subsequently expanded and enforced in the law of March 3, 1863, was vituperously denounced by those who claimed that there should be a strict adherence to the letter of the Constitution, even if it involved its destruction, and out of this denunciation sprang the hideous New York riots of July, 1863.

Upon August 9, 1862, at "3 p. m." were issued from the War Department "General Orders, No. 99," giving detailed directions

for the enrollment of the militia in the several States, and for a draft in each State of its quota of 300,000 militiamen for nine months, and of any additional number required to make up the deficiency in the quota of 300,000 three-years volunteers under the President's call of July 2d. "The Governors of the respective States *will proceed forthwith* to furnish their respective quotas of the 300,000 militia called by the order of the President." There is a peremptory flavor in this "will proceed forthwith" until then unprecedented in communications to Governors of States from a Federal source. It denotes the superlative urgency of the situation and the need to exercise every power, assured or doubtful, in order to sustain the Union. There is in the austere tone a reflection of Secretary Stanton's rigor, rather than of President Lincoln's mild inflexibility. The orders continue this tone, "The Governors of the respective States *will* cause an enrollment to be made *forthwith* by the assessors of the several counties or by any other officers to be appointed by such Governors, of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five within the respective counties," and full details are given as to the methods of enrollment, the classes of persons exempt and the procedure in making the draft.

The enrollment under the State law was at this time partially completed, but it was evident that the draft could not be based upon it, since the State law provided for the filling of the one hundred and twenty-eight district regiments, and no credit was allowed for men already furnished, the proportions of whom to the population were very unequal in the several districts. State General Orders were accordingly issued on August 13th giving the text of the War Department orders * and further providing for putting

* The quota of each county for total State draft of 60,000 proportioned upon the basis of the census of 1860.

them in effect. General Anthon had general charge of the enrollment in New York and Kings counties, and Colonel Campbell, assistant adjutant-general, supervised it in the remainder of the State, and the enrollment was completed and the lists filed on October 14th. The imminent prospect of a draft caused great excitement throughout the State, and large numbers attempted to avoid the risk of conscription by fleeing to Europe or Canada. So early as August 8th Secretary Seward gave notice that no passports would be issued by the State Department to persons liable to a draft before the quotas were filled, and a strict surveillance was kept upon all out-going steamers to prevent the exodus of such as were liable. A similar guard was kept upon all routes to the Canadian frontier. Indeed, I recall the examination of all passengers on a train going west from Buffalo on September 3d. Soon after leaving the city a deputy provost-marshal went through each car and questioned every man whose apparent age indicated him as a probable conscript. It was a sharp reminder of the old adage "*inter arma leges silent.*" At this time the expressive word "skedaddle" was adopted into the vernacular, to denote flight from the draft and the opprobrious epithet "skedaddler" was added to that of "copperhead" in the daily commination of all patriotic citizens. Of course the tender consciences of those who at this time constituted themselves the special guardians of the Constitution, "*ruat cœlum,*" were horrified by this new act of despotism.

The enrollment was to be made under the personal charge of the assessors and supervisors in each county, aided in the cities by the aldermen, and the lists were to be filed with the sheriffs. On October 2d it was announced by General Orders that as the quota under the call of July 2d for three-years volunteers had been filled with an excess of twenty thousand men to apply on the quota of

August 4th, volunteers for nine months would be accepted to complete such quota until the final orders for the draft. These orders were issued on October 14th thus, "The enrollment of the militia of the State being now nearly completed, a draft from the population liable to bear arms will be made on the *tenth day of November next*, equal in the aggregate to the number of men required on that day to complete the quota of one hundred and twenty thousand apportioned to this State."* The draft was to be made under the supervision of General Anthon, aided by commissioners and surgeons, one for each county except New York and Queens, for which there were respectively twenty and fifteen of both officers, the selection in all cases being made from men of the highest reputation. Regulations were prescribed for the assemblage, subsistence and transportation of the men from the county seat to the camps, and there was a republication of General Orders of the War Department of August 29th, relative to supplies for the drafted men. One extract from these orders illustrates the needs of those trying days, "As the sudden call for volunteers and militia has exhausted the supply of blankets fit for military purposes in the market, and it will take some time to procure by manufacture or importation a sufficient supply, all citizens who volunteer or are drafted, are advised to take with them to the rendezvous, if possible, a good, stout woolen blanket. The regulation military blanket is 86 x 66 inches and weighs five pounds." To be forced into the cruel war, and invited to bring the blanket off your bed, too, seemed

* It is apparent that the differences of period of enlistment were not yet taken into account and a recruit for nine months counted for as much as one for three years. Within a month or so later the principle that one "three-years man" should be equivalent to four "nine-months men," and that all periods of enlistment should have their proper relative value was established and obtained to the end of the war.

to the captious like a mockery of misery. The population of the State by the census of 1860 was 3,880,735, and the enrollment gave 764,603 men as of suitable age, and of course exclusive of about 150,000 volunteers in field and camp. Of those enrolled, 139,198 were returned as exempt. This latter number was proportionally large since it embraced not only those exempt under the United States law but a far larger number under the State law, such as all clergymen, judges, justices and officers of the courts, all officers and employees in the military and civil service of the State, Shakers, Quakers, professors and teachers, commissioned officers of the militia honorably discharged after full term of service, all officers and members of the organized militia (about 200,000) and many other classes, including "idiots, lunatics, paupers, habitual drunkards and persons convicted of infamous crimes." These last were properly included, not only as indicative of the honorable service to be rendered by drafted men and the exclusion therefrom of the mentally and morally unworthy as also of the physically unfit, but as a corrective of the ill-advised action of some judges in this and other States who in the early days of the war gave convicts the option of imprisonment or enlistment in the volunteer army, a degradation of the military service not only vicious but manifestly impolitic. I do not recall the number exempted for physical disability, but there were some complaints that these were excessive, and suggestions that the names and causes of disability be published as a corrective. The reservoir of drafted men, liable to be drawn on was 625,405, and had the entire quota of 60,000 been required, it would have taken about one in ten. To complete the account of this enrollment it may be added that on November 7th, by an order, it was announced that the number of camps for enlisted and drafted men would be reduced, because the quotas

in so many counties had been filled by enlistments and in others the deficiency was too small, and on the 9th it was informally announced that the draft was postponed until further orders, but in fact it never was resumed under the then existing law and orders. In reality, trustworthy reports of persons enlisted since July 2d, and to be credited upon the quotas, could not be procured, no proper records had been kept by the towns or counties; there were many disputes as to whether men were to be credited to the place of their residence or to that of their enlistment where they often received a local bounty. At once there arose a contention regarding the credit in accordance to the terms of enlistment—*i. e.*, whether one “three-years man” should or should not count for as much as three “one-year men.” Other contentions between localities as to credits on quotas were subsequently sources of infinite trouble, misrepresentations and disaffection.

The portentous preparations of this draft, that proved a myth, had very important results; it stimulated the several towns and counties to fill their quotas and in this respect it served an excellent purpose; on the other hand it caused the grant of local bounties which through fear and competition, reached great sums in succeeding years; indeed in the last four months of 1862 these reached as high as four hundred dollars per man in some places. But worst of all it ended the period when patriotism was a motive for enlistment and substituted for it money in the hand of the “volunteer” and the frantic desire of his fellow townsmen “to fill the quota” in any way and at any expense.

During October, eleven full regiments and two battalions of infantry and three batteries of artillery were mustered into service for three years, most of the men in which had been enlisted prior to the first of that month, the slowness of enlistments retarding

their completion, and one of the regiments being organized by consolidation of incomplete organizations. During November, there were mustered in eight infantry regiments for three years, five of them formed by consolidations, and one regiment, the Tenth National Guard of Albany, for nine months. During December one regiment and one battalion of infantry were mustered in for three years, as also five batteries of artillery. At the end of the year there were remaining in camp two regiments of infantry, one being the Nineteenth National Guard of Newburgh, that were subsequently mustered in for nine months and counted upon this levy, which sums up as follows: sixty-three regiments and three battalions (with regimental numbers) of infantry, one regiment and four companies of sharpshooters, four battalions artillery (one battalion afterwards incorporated into the Fifth and the others organized into the Tenth Regiment), ten batteries of artillery and one regiment of cavalry (the Eleventh, mustered in June, 1862, but included in this levy); all of the above enlisted for three years, and in addition there were three regiments of infantry enlisted for nine months. The total number of men furnished was 78,904 for three years, and 1,781 for nine months.

During October there was an animated political canvass of the State, the Republicans having nominated for Governor, Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, and for Lieutenant-Governor, Lyman Tremain, of Albany, and the Democrats Horatio Seymour for Governor, and David R. Floyd-Jones for Lieutenant-Governor. General Wadsworth had been one of the Free-soil Democrats who aided in the formation of the Republican party. He was a man of large hereditary wealth, of excellent capacity, high character and marked public spirit. He was named as one of the major-generals for our first volunteer regiments before it was known that no general

officers would be accepted, and was appointed by the President a brigadier-general of volunteers in August, 1861, and was the military governor of Washington at the time of his nomination. Lyman Tremain had been a Democrat of the "old Hunker" or "hard" stripe until the breaking out of the war, when he joined the Republican party and became an earnest supporter of every effort to sustain the Union. Mr. Seymour had been Governor in 1853-54; he was a man of fine character and an excellent example of the higher type of the pro-slavery Democracy of the Northern States. Mr. Floyd-Jones had been Secretary of State in 1860-61.

While the utterances of the Democratic newspapers and speakers were for "a more vigorous prosecution of the war," there was also a general censure by them of about every movement by the administration. The election on November 4th resulted in a majority for Seymour of 10,752. The total vote was 70,000 less than two years before and indicated the large number of voters in the military service and, therefore, debarred from the polls. Another potent element in the defeat of Wadsworth and Tremain was the disaffection of Thurlow Weed, who was always implacably hostile to that element in the Republican party derived from the old Democratic party. Weed's influence was omnipotent with the men who had for years been his political instruments in the Whig party.

General Wadsworth was at his own request detailed to active service in December, 1862, and was conspicuous in the battles of Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. He died on May 8, 1864, from wounds received two days before in the battle of the Wilderness. A great many interpreted the result of this election as a vote of lack of confidence in the National Administration, and many strong utterances in this direction were made. At a political jollification meeting in New York, on November 10th, Fernando Wood said:

"I do not understand the Governor-elect if he would not stand up for his State against any Federal usurpation," having direct reference to the draft then impending. John Van Buren, looking to a submission of vexed questions to Congress, "thought it best before an election of representatives the President should declare an armistice." Much eloquence was expended in condemning the President's Emancipation Proclamation and in eulogizing General McClellan. The latter officer had been relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac by General Burnside on November 7th, at Warrenton, Va. This was the end of General McClellan's military career. He was a good organizer and had excellent executive qualities. His services in the drill and discipline of the raw troops assembled about Washington in the winter of 1861-62 were of incalculable value. Not only did they acquire the necessary tactical training but by frequent brigade and division reviews they were massed in such numbers as to inculcate confidence and mutual assurance of strength and support. This restoration of confidence was absolutely essential after the disastrous surprises and panics that had so often distinguished the Union forces on the line of the Potomac. Thus the *morale* of the regiments engaged at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff was restored, and instead of a congeries of mobs about the Capital we had a drilled and disciplined army. Probably no officer in our army could have accomplished this preparatory work so well as he, and it was only when he undertook the active operations of a great campaign that he was overtaken. In an estimate of his military capacity I do not think his operations in West Virginia should count for much; they were a series of skirmishes by untrained forces on both sides. He started for the Virginia peninsula in April, 1862, with a trained, organized and well-balanced army enthusiastically devoted to him. The plan of

campaign had been devised and elaborated by himself, and an excellent plan it was, for he possessed great skill in military conceptions; it was in their execution that he failed. The President and Secretary of War were well disposed toward him and he had the hearty good wishes and prayers of the loyal people of the whole country. Whatever practical military ability General McClellan possessed fitted him for defensive rather than aggressive warfare. He was well versed in military engineering, and as one of the three officers of our army commissioned to the Crimea in 1854 he saw the grand results of Todleben's genius in the earthworks about Sebastopol, and they gave him a great respect for intrenchments. The thirty days delay before the feebly manned works at Yorktown ruined his elaborate campaign against Richmond. He was also lacking in that enterprising, persistent spirit that is forever pushing on, and in that iron will and self-confidence that in the supreme moment do not hesitate to sacrifice many lives that more may be saved. Such a rigid, unbending will is not compatible with that amiability that made "Little Mac" loved by his soldiers, who had yet to learn that the successful warriors are forged from sterner stuff. His last great battle at Antietam was a defensive one against invasion, and where all his valuable qualities could be displayed.* Most fortunately for him the Northern Democrats, who foresaw the extinction of their party unless it had a support in the Union armies; selected him as their corner-stone, and aware of this he permitted political purposes to color his military plans and even find expression in his official papers. There had been much disappointment through our failure to actively pursue Lee after the

* It is also credibly asserted that he had a copy of General Lee's orders giving the plan of battle and disposition of his troops, which had been captured in some way. This information gave General McClellan great advantage.

battle of Antietam; it was naturally argued that a beaten army with a river like the Potomac across its line of retreat could be utterly demolished. This, however, does not accord with the experience in our war; in none of the great battles of the East was there a rapid and effectual pursuit; in none of them did the victor have a reserve unengaged in the main contest and fresh for such active duty, nor was there on either side in any such battle a contingent of cavalry large enough and so efficiently armed and drilled as to convert a retreat into a rout or a surrender. In fact the military function of cavalry had already much changed at the time of our war.

The unopposed passage of the Potomac by Lee caused another popular cry for action, and the newspapers were vociferous for an advance. The report that the army was hampered by a lack of shoes was derided. In the autumn of 1861, said they, we were beguiled by the story that McClellan was delaying until the leaves dropped from the trees so that our marksmen could see the enemy and more readily slaughter them; after the leaves had fallen came the adhesively retarding mud—and now it is “shoes” that are lacking. It seemed ridiculous to plead the same privations as were endured by our poverty-stricken army at Valley Forge, nearly a century earlier. But in reality the Army of the Potomac was in good condition and largely reinforced by new regiments. All the regiments and batteries remaining in our State on November 1st were turned over to General Banks, who was to relieve General Butler at New Orleans and carry on active operations in the Mississippi valley; these comprised eleven regiments of infantry and five batteries of artillery. Some of the other of our new regiments went to the Army of the South, some to North Carolina, others to the Army of the Tennessee, and four infantry regiments, the One Hundred and Thirteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-ninth,

One Hundred and Thirty-fifth and One Hundred and Thirty-eighth, were from October, 1862, to February, 1863, materially increased in force and converted into heavy artillery regiments and assigned to occupy the forts encircling Washington.* The remainder of the third levy was incorporated in the Army of the Potomac, which in December, under General Burnside, crossed the Rappahannock, and on the 13th fought the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg, in which our losses were very heavy. Seventy New York regiments participated in this battle. In the West there had been some successes, though the rebel General Bragg had, on October 1st, ostentatiously and impudently inaugurated a Governor at Frankfort, Ky., but after the severe battle at Perryville, nine days later, retreated to Tennessee. The year ended with the completion of preparations for the battle of Murfreesboro, one of the most hotly contested battles of the war and, like so many of them, without apparent advantage to either side.

On January 1st Governor Morgan handed over his trust to Mr. Seymour and became a private citizen, since he had stipulated in accepting the position of major-general of volunteers that not only would he accept no pay for services in that capacity, but that his tenure of the place should cease with his term as Governor.

*They were increased to twelve companies, divisioned into three battalions, each commanded by a major, and were respectively named as the Seventh, the Eighth, the Sixth, and the Ninth New York Artillery. After General Grant's frightful losses in the Wilderness early in May, 1864, in response to his request for reinforcements, General Halleck ordered these heavy artillery regiments to the front. Each regiment was as large as the average brigade of the Army of the Potomac, as then constituted. The "heavies" received their baptism of fire at Spottsylvania Court House, Va., May 19, 1864. Their losses were very severe. At Cold Harbor the Seventh lost its colonel, Lewis O. Morris, one adjutant, one captain, one first lieutenant and one second lieutenant. The Eighth lost its colonel, Peter A. Porter (of Niagara Falls), its lieutenant-colonel, who died of the wounds he received, one major, three captains, four first and eight second lieutenants.

These first two years of the war were far more important in their relations to the State than the succeeding two years; in them were begun all the military experiments in the raising and organization of troops; after December, 1862, there was no pure volunteering, and money alone became the incentive. The General Government assumed a larger control in the raising of troops and but few new organizations were added to those in the field. Of the thirteen regiments of infantry raised after December 31, 1862, only one or two rendered any efficient service. Nineteen regiments of cavalry and three of artillery were organized after that date. This is a meagre list compared with that of 1861 and 1862, which comprised one hundred and seventy-one regiments infantry, twelve cavalry, eleven regiments, two battalions and thirty-four batteries of artillery, two regiments of engineers and one regiment and four companies of sharpshooters. Of course these numbers in themselves are no disparagement to the later period, when the effort was mainly to recruit the veteran organizations in the field, rather than to raise new ones, but they indicate the diminished influence of the State authority in the later period.

Of all these regiments the early ones in the third levy were composed of the best material. The conditions for such an outcome were favorable; the failure of McClellan's campaign against Richmond, followed by Pope's disasters, brought us face to face with the peril of our cause, and demanded every patriotic effort and sacrifice. Death in field and hospital, mutilation of wounds, malarial poison, rebel prisons, in fact all the horrors of war were now familiar to us, and going to the field was now a stern reality, and those who enlisted knew all the direful chances to be encountered.

The formation of regimental camps in all parts of the State aroused local emulation which was practically guided by the district

committees composed of eminent citizens who by their "gratuitous, unremitting and efficient efforts" aided in the rapid recruitment of the regiments. The popular interest and anxiety found expression in public meetings in all parts at which earnest appeals were made to succor our endangered armies. Such a meeting was held in Union Square, New York, on the evening of July 16th, and another in the City Hall park on August 27th, both largely attended, as was one in Brooklyn on September 3d. Colonel Corcoran, of the Sixty-ninth Regiment of our State militia, composed exclusively of Irishmen, who had been made a prisoner of war at Bull Run on July 21, 1861, was released August 15th by exchange and became a marked figure at these meetings, where his presence and speeches aroused great enthusiasm on the part of our Irish population. Then there was the stimulus of the bounty offered by the United States and State amounting to seventy-five dollars in hand and correcting the evils arising from the tardy payment of troops in the field. The delay in payment had been so serious as to cause much pauperism in the families of the soldiers, and which, though relieved by public and private charity, seriously deterred enlistments.

Our State Legislature in January, 1862, voted an appropriation of money to be advanced to the United States for payment of our troops, a part of which was used for that purpose and subsequently refunded by the United States Pay Department. The sum of seventy-five dollars was a fund to be left for family use and not a mere mercenary inducement like the later large bounties. Recalling the character and condition of the men who enlisted in the rural districts in July and August, I cannot believe that the sum of seventy-five dollars was in itself a provocative, and it only served as a small guaranty that dependent families should not suffer. The

payment of this bounty caused a more thorough physical inspection of the recruits, and under the direction of Surgeon-General Vander Poel there was, in addition to the examination by the regimental surgeons, a rigid examination by surgeons selected by that officer; these were Dr. Mason F. Cogswell at Albany, Dr. William C. Wey at Elmira and Dr. William H. Thomson at New York, who rejected a large number that had passed the regimental surgeons. The regiments that left the State in August and September contained the very cream of our military class—young, robust, patriotic and intelligent. In some cases farmers brought their sons to the camp to see them enlisted, and in many cases fathers and sons were enrolled together. At some of the camps I inspected in July the recruits so soon as enlisted were furloughed to return home and help in the harvest-field. The ingenuous and unsophisticated character of some of these recruits was touching. I recall being asked by a bright-eyed youth who had enlisted in a company, the second lieutenant of which used to be the recruit's old schoolfellow and playmate, if he could not be permitted to mess with his friend in the field. Although the war was a year old, its ruthless extinguishment of social, domestic and moral laws was not yet generally apprehended. I think the most inspiring spectacle in my tours of duty was presented at Jamestown, where upon my arrival early in September I found that, the date of the regiment's departure (One Hundred and Twelfth) being announced for an early day; the relatives and friends from both counties in the district, Chautauqua and Cattaraugus, had driven into town for a farewell visit to the "soldier laddies." As I approached the camp ground, the road for half a mile was lined each side by vehicles of the visitors, their horses tied to the fences; the camp itself was thronged; fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and lovers were having last interviews

with the boys in blue; many were the affecting scenes, and for a while the strict discipline was relaxed in deference to an occasion that affected every heart. The visitors brought home-made viands to enrich for that day the plain camp fare, and many a stalwart boy unmindfully tasted then for the last time the toothsome pies and cakes his mother made, and that often recurred to him in those coming days of "hard tack" ere the fatal bullet pierced him. These scenes of pathos were enacted at many camps.

The health of the men was excellent. The summer weather encouraged the constant ventilation of the rough barracks, and there were none of those diseases incident to crowded quarters. The only disorders that seemed prevalent were diarrhea and other bowel complaints, caused by change of water and diet, probably aggravated by the large use of fresh vegetables in the subsistence furnished by the contractors. The inspector-general and assistants were particularly charged with the proper enforcement of discipline in the camps, and in spite of the general ignorance this was an easy task. The only serious exceptions were riotous outbreaks by soldiers in what was called the "Empire Brigade," at East New York, one in August and another at a later date, when the Seventh Regiment National Guard was put on duty there. But this was in an organization composed largely of city "roughs."

One indication of the excellent character of the men in these regiments was the large allotments of their pay toward the support of families. These in the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Regiment, encamped at Goshen, reached an annual sum of \$109,956, and in others was nearly as large. These results were greatly aided by the public-spirited and gratuitous efforts of the allotment commissioners of this State.*

* See Appendix A.

These regiments were also fortunate in their commanding officers, ten of whom were taken from the United States service, four from other New York regiments in the field, which also supplied many other field officers.

A remarkable feature of this levy was the slackness of recruiting in the great cities included in the first seven districts (New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk and Richmond counties). Of the 39,787 enlisted men sent to the field before October 1st, the proper quota of these counties would be 12,547, but they furnished only 3,043 men. A part of this was due probably to the fact that the cities had on previous levies furnished more than their quotas, and to the large number of naval enlistments, which were almost wholly in New York and Brooklyn, but did not count in their quotas. Beyond these reasons, however, were the closer and more intimate relations of the committeemen in the country to their "constituencies" and the stronger local sentiment. Of course in the end all districts had to furnish their quotas, but it was finally through liberal bounties rather than any sentiment. These city regiments were also composed of much poorer material. It was computed that over one-half the total desertions from this levy during the period of enlistment occurred in New York and Brooklyn, attributable not only to the inferior class of recruits, but the ease of secretion in large cities. In August a reward of five dollars was offered in these cities for the apprehension of a deserter, and the police did arrest some. It was in these city regiments that the only material disturbances occurred as has been before mentioned. I recall an official visit to the One Hundred and Fifty-eighth Regiment when encamped at East New York, and being shown at the guardhouse a very large collection of bottles of liquor attempted to be smuggled within the lines by recruits and their friends. The

proximity of a great city to an encampment was a constant source of annoyance and anxiety to the officers.

In September I paid the bounty to the One Hundred and Forty-fifth Regiment in camp at New Dorp, Staten Island. It was ostensibly being raised by Colonel William H. Allen, who commanded the First Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, mustered into the United States service at New York on May 7, 1861. This was a distinctively New York city regiment, composed of what were known in those days as "Bowery boys." A bill presented to me for audit in 1862 was for "medical stores" for this regiment in camp in April, 1861, and which comprised "120 gallons bourbon whiskey, 42 gallons pale sherry, 21 1-2 gallons pale Otard brandy, 40 gallons cabinet gin and 24 dozen Allsop East India ale," and nothing more. Of course I could not allow such an extraordinary array of drugs which, without doubt, never went into any hospital, but enlivened the officers' mess; but it is a fair indication of the character of this regiment. The First Regiment was ordered to report to General Butler at Fortress Monroe early in May, 1861, and the very next month Colonel Allen exhibited his lawless character. On June 28th he was arrested by order of General Butler and subsequently tried by court-martial on several charges. On September 12th the President approved the sentence that he be cashiered. It was like his rare impudence to assume that the Governor would give him another commission. The One Hundred and Forty-fifth was quite as boisterous as the First Regiment had been, and I had an amusing illustration of it. Among the extraordinary appointments of those days was that of a noted New York lawyer, known as "Dick" Busteed, to the rank of brigadier-general. Why this was done no one could tell, since there was good reasons to believe that he would never get a com-

mand in the field. To give him some employment he was directed to inspect the regiments organizing about New York, and in one of my official visits to the New Dorp camp I found General "Dick" there in all the glories of a new uniform. This regiment went to the field under Colonel Price, was disbanded in a year and the men incorporated in other regiments.*

While the early regiments of this levy were of the superior character mentioned, the later ones, with few exceptions, were of a much lower grade, and as the draft increased and with it the amount of local bounties, the result was reflected in the men who responded.

Mention must be made of the effort to carry out the provisions of the new militia law of April. The enrollment was completed in

* So far as I know General Busted never had an opportunity to exhibit his military qualities, except in airing his uniform about town, but he professed a strong desire to flash his maiden sword in the field. I recall his coming to see General Arthur at our Walker Street Headquarters in October, 1862, when I was present. He said he had made up his mind to run down to Washington and get Secretary Seward to have him put in active service. A day or so later he returned and gave an account of his trip. "I got to the Secretary's house," he said, "late in the evening, and when he saw me he seemed astonished and asked me if I had been ordered to come, and when I said no, he told me that Secretary Stanton had issued an order that any officer found in Washington without orders to report there should be arrested and confined in the Old Capitol Prison, and that I had better get back to New York as soon as possible by the midnight train, saying that as I had escaped the scrutiny of the guard at the railroad station I might be as lucky on my return. So I skulked back, fortunately escaping the provost marshal's dogs, and here I am." His discomfiture was so comical that we roared with laughter, in which Busted joined. After he left us we concluded that the Secretary was glad to get rid of him. One of the nuisances to the President, Secretary Stanton and other officials was the congregation of officers at Washington away from their stations and intent on getting promotions and other favors. At one time it was a trite saying that you could not throw a stone at a dog in Washington and not hit two or three brigadier-generals. Early in the Reconstruction era President Johnson appointed Busted a United States District Judge in Alabama, probably through Secretary Seward, who appeared to have some interest in him. He doubtless had legal acquirements, but I never learned of his judicial career in those troublous times in the South that followed the end of the war.

an imperfect manner and out of the 128 regiments of National Guard only 59 regiments, with an aggregate of 22,154 officers and men, had been organized. This incomplete result, which was not greatly increased until the war ended, did, however, serve an excellent purpose, and National Guard regiments entered the United States service for short periods in 1863 and 1864, besides rendering important services within the State. The general plan initiated by that law still remains in operation.

In drawing to a close this account of the military transactions under Governor Morgan the total number of the men sent to the field should be given. My own data being lost, I give the report made by Adjutant-General Sprague on February 18, 1863, in response to a request of the Legislature for information as to the number of men enlisted and turned over to the United States Government by this State since April 16, 1861, and which is probably a correct summary from the official records:

Mustered into United States service for 3 months.....	15,922
Mustered into United States service for 9 months.....	2,560
Mustered into United States service for 2 years.....	30,250
Mustered into United States service for 3 years.....	173,321
	<hr/>
Total.....	222,053
	<hr/> <hr/>

As practically none were so mustered between January 1 and February 18, 1863, the total represents the achievement by Governor Morgan's administration. The report of the adjutant-general in 1859, made to the War Department, gave the militia force of New York State as 418,846 officers and privates, so the State had responded by sending one-half its available force as so published, a wonderful achievement indeed. I cannot leave this topic without

some general reflections upon the whole body of troops sent out by our State during the entire war, which numbered, as reported by United States Provost Marshal General Fry, in February, 1866, 455,568 individuals, or reduced to the standard of three-years' enlistment, to 380,980 men, or about 17.9 per cent. of the whole number furnished by all the States, while the quota of the State, based upon the census of 1860 was only 17.2 per cent., without allowing for the large naval enlistments in our State or for the larger proportion of arm-bearing men in the new States.

Disregarding the mixed motives of patriotism, ambition, cupidity or frivolity that led to enlistments in this State, motives that obtained equally throughout all the States, I am confident that the people of no other State surpassed those of New York in the promptitude of their responses to the exigent needs of their country or in the character and efficiency of those who responded. To those citizen-soldiers is due the meed rather than to those who supervised their organization and equipment. And I wish to say here that I have not consciously misrepresented or disparaged those who enlisted by any mention of their motives as revealed to me. As time goes on there is a disposition, more and more, to exalt all who enlisted as patriots and heroes, so that laws are passed in Congress even to condone desertion and crown it with a pension. It was my rare opportunity to see close at hand the elements of our volunteer armies, and I must express my impressions without any gloss of exaggeration or depreciation. No one can surpass me in profound respect and praise for the large proportion of men who enlisted from pure patriotic feeling or in gratitude to those who died or were grievously wounded on the battlefield, or died or were disabled by illness contracted in and incident to that service. But there were at the bottom of this military mass the dregs

represented by the poltroons, skulkers, deserters and bounty-jumpers. There was not a battle or skirmish that did not have in its rear and on its flanks a fringe of these vagabonds, who, dropping from the ranks, sought shelter and left to their comrades the perils of the assault. These are now raised to the same plane as those who rendered good service—they are pure patriots, heroes, Union-saviors, entitled to honor, glory and all that the most generous of nations can bestow. I cannot refrain from some protest against such injustice to the true veteran soldiers and to the truth of history.

By the end of November the strain imposed upon the State to meet the demand for troops was almost wholly relaxed. There were a few incomplete organizations, some of which remained for the coming new State officers to exercise their prentice hands on. It had been a very strenuous strain for four months, during which every day, including the Sundays, had brought its added burdens. I can recall one day—a Sunday at that—that certainly burdened me. General Arthur was at Albany, and on the Saturday of a week of great toil for all, I had allowed all the leading subordinates to leave early in the afternoon, not to report again until Monday, since they needed some relaxation, so I was practically alone. Late in the day I received telegraphic advices of the sudden movement of three regiments for New York, one from the west by the Erie Railroad, and another from the west and one from the north to arrive by the Hudson River road, all to arrive on Sunday forenoon at different hours. I had a further dispatch from general headquarters directing these regiments be sent immediately forward to Washington en route to the army. I could not recall our absentees, as I did not know where they had gone for their brief vacations. On Sunday, by the use myself of relays of hacks, I was able to provide for the needs of these regiments, getting arms and accoutrements

for two of them, rations served at the Park barracks for two and at the Battery barracks for the other, and transportation for two by the railroad to Philadelphia via Jersey City and the other by the then New Jersey Southern railroad route via Sandy Hook. The last regiment did not leave until midnight. Fortunately Colonel Welch, assistant ordnance officer, was on duty that day and ready to issue the arms, etc. I mention this incident only as exemplifying the great pressure of those stirring days.

The later work of this period had been much increased by the difficult and delicate work of consolidating incomplete companies and regiments. In this I took no part, being detailed to other duties, and the consolidations were effected by General Van Vechten, whose tact and courteous ways alleviated much of the disappointment, rancor and jealousy incident to the exclusion of so many supernumerary officers.

As the general staff officers have always been considered as personal selections by successive Governors, and the new administration would take charge on January 1st, the month of December was largely occupied in the completion of unfinished business and in the settlement of accounts. The auditing board created by Chap. 397, Laws of 1862, consisted of the inspector, judge advocate and quartermaster generals, who were authorized to examine and audit claims against the State for expenses incurred in raising volunteers, for which purpose an appropriation of \$500,000 was made to pay audited and proper claims. Generals Van Vechten, Anthon and Arthur composed this board, of which I was, *ex officio*, secretary. Many sessions were held in December and some claims audited, but the principal achievement was the establishment of the principles governing the audit. I may say here that the board remained in existence until April, 1868, when I prepared the final report, show-

ing a total disbursement of \$294,948.92, or only about three-fifths of the appropriation, a remarkable accomplishment in our State finance, and what is quite as satisfactory, about the whole of this sum has been refunded to the State upon the presentation of the vouchers to the United States.

Another board, comprising the same officers, and of which I was also secretary, audited the claims of our militia regiments for uniforms, etc., worn out or destroyed in their three months' service in 1861, for which purpose \$50,000 was appropriated.

There was also the settlement of heavy accounts for supplies for the third levy delivered on contracts made by Governor Morgan, but payable directly by the United States.

In leaving that chamber in the old capitol where he had labored so assiduously and with such a conscientious sense of duty Governor Morgan had every reason to congratulate himself. Under conditions the most grave and urgent the State had responded promptly and nobly to every just demand upon it. Governor Morgan was not a constructive statesman, nor had he the gift of oratory, but he did have what was more important in his position in that crisis, an excellent administrative ability, trained and seasoned by his extensive experience as a merchant. As Governor and major-general of volunteers, he was sagacious and untiring. His own remarkable physical powers led him to overrate those of his subordinates, some of whom broke down under the unremitting toil of the last half of the year 1862. He assumed large responsibilities and expected all of us to imitate his example when confronted by an exigency requiring prompt relief. His natural traits and mercantile training made him exact and exacting in all financial matters, and, if anything, inclined to be too parsimonious. As an example of his economic ideas may be stated the inadequate pay

of the overworked generals on his staff, which was put at that of a major in the United States service; but these were of his "military family," from whom he expected sacrifices in those trying days. His rare mercantile abilities were displayed in the contracts for quartermaster and commissary stores in 1862, which bred no defalcations or scandals. My official account of the terms and magnitude of these transactions was accidentally destroyed.

Adjutant-General Hillhouse (of Geneva) had been a member of the Senate and subsequently was State Comptroller and Assistant United States Treasurer at New York. He was a methodical, assiduous and conscientious official.

General Arthur held three positions on the staff: engineer-in-chief, January 1, 1861, to April 11, 1862; inspector-general, April 12 to July 11, 1862, and quartermaster-general, July 12 to December 31, 1862. He administered these somewhat incongruous functions with singular ability, and under his auspices, aided by distinguished engineers, military and civil, reports of great value upon the defensive needs and works of the State were made to the Legislature of 1862. As head of the quartermaster's department in New York, both acting and actual, he showed unusual executive ability both in routine and in occasional fields of business and under conditions very difficult and complex. As an instance of his shrewdness there was saved in the transportation expenses of the third levy \$43,174.13, being that sum less than the allowance by the United States. He was a man of fine and attractive personal qualities, and Governor Morgan almost invariably insisted that General Arthur should accompany him on his official visits to Washington. Of his subsequent career as collector of the port, Vice-President and President there is no need to say anything here.

Surgeon-General Vander Poel, who had held the same position under Governor King, 1857-8, was not only a good physician but also had a high administrative capacity. He selected competent men as surgeons for the regiments and military depots, and by a re-examination by his special aids of recruits passed by imperfect examinations he caused the rejection of many with great advantage and economy to the Government.

Quartermaster-General Van Vechten was a faithful, plodding official, but lacking in the power or initiative.

General Welch, the ordnance officer, had been State Treasurer and a man of great social popularity. He resigned in 1862 to take a place with the rank of colonel on the staff of General Pope, commanding the Army of the Potomac, and contracting malarial fever in the field, died after a short service.

Judge-Advocate General Anthon came from a scholastic family and was a sound lawyer. His duties were confined to legal questions and the operation of the new militia law, of which he was the author. His death at a comparatively early age cut short a career that would have been useful and honorable.

Paymaster Bliss was a man of tireless activities in many directions. Among other tasks he had supervision of the care of 14,000 wounded soldiers who were quartered at the Park barracks while en route through the city in May, June and July in 1862, and subsequently was indefatigable in the payment of the State bounty. After the war he became well known in the city as a prominent figure in the management of his party and as United States district attorney.

The New Year on January 1, 1863, dissolved our military connection, and we parted with mutual esteem. I am certain that the others felt the same pride that I did in having been an official part of a State administration so patriotic, pure and efficient.

APPENDIX A.*

ALLOTMENT OF PART OF SOLDIERS' PAY.

AT the very outset of the war it occurred to thoughtful people that the withdrawal from productive labor of a large part of its citizens for an uncertain period would breed grave conditions, which, if not successfully met, would bring great embarrassments, ever increasing as the war was prolonged. The citizens who enlisted were selected, both as to age and bodily condition, from the class whose productive capacity was in a physical sense the highest. In this withdrawal of so many wage-earners the first question to be solved was as to the assured support, during their absence, of those dependent on them, since the enforced assumption of this obligation as a public charge would not only be a grievous addition to the burdens resting upon the people, but what would be worse, would generate a large pauper class, with all the demoralizing consequences and influences so noxious in older nations, and which we had fortunately so far escaped. There was also to be considered the subjective effect of such a severance of family interests and obligations upon the soldiers themselves, separated from their homes, at great distances and for long periods, immersed in excitements and distractions and often without communication of any sort for many months. War exerts upon most of those engaged

* See pages 54, 136.

in its tendencies so vicious and depraving that society, in self-defence, can neglect no agency by which the evils may be prevented or mitigated.

The pay of the private soldier, \$13 a month, at first glance seems paltry, but when it is considered that, in addition, he receives food, clothing, quarters and medical attendance, there seems no reason why he should spend for his own needs more than \$3 to \$5 a month, and not allot the residue for the support of his dependents, or if free from that contingency, should not direct its deposit in a savings bank to accumulate as capital when he returns to the working world. These motives led to an inadequate act of Congress, passed July 22, 1861, during the short session called to meet the sudden exigencies and perils caused by the rebellion. So imperfect were this law and the agencies for its execution, that it bore no good results. A more effective law was passed on December 24, 1861, and under its provisions President Lincoln, four days later, appointed as commissioners for the State of New York three of its citizens who had been largely instrumental in the passage of the law. These were Theodore Roosevelt, father of President Roosevelt; William E. Dodge, Jr., and Theodore Bronson, all of New York city, and notable as foremost there in all good works, moral, social and political. Mr. Roosevelt was chairman of the commission, and in the brief survey here of the achievements of the members it may be premised that the law expressly declared that in the discharge of their functions under it they "shall receive no pay or emoluments whatever from the Treasury of the United States." Thus not only were their services purely gratuitous, but they paid every cent of their expenses out of their own pockets. These public-spirited citizens immediately set about their task by visiting the Army of the Potomac, encamped in a quagmire

of deep, tenacious mud on the Virginia side of that river opposite Washington. During the months of January, February and March they beat up the quarters of 80 regiments in that army, and at Baltimore, Annapolis, Fortress Monroe and Newport News. It was a very severe winter, and away from all the usual conveniences of civilization they were almost entirely dependent upon the higher officers for quarters, subsistence and transportation. Their method of solicitation was to request the officers to have the companies, or, if practicable, an entire regiment, drawn up in hollow square, when one of the commissioners would address the soldiers, explaining the law, appealing to them on behalf of their distant families, and disabusing their minds of prejudices arising from the defects of the earlier law or raised by interested parties. Of these latter were some of the paymasters and their clerks, who found their labor increased by the division of payments into money in hand and cheques for the allotted amounts. But the most effective opposition came from the sutlers, who, seeing the serious diminution of their profits from the sales, at exorbitant prices, of wares mostly unnecessary or injurious, put up placards impudently warning the men that the law was an attempt of the Government to swindle them out of their wages. The commissioners were informed that officers were often partners with the sutlers, and shared in their profits, and that liquor was sold constantly in violation of law, often "hidden under all kinds of ingenious devices, disguised as tobacco, bread, etc., and even in some cases in *imitation Bibles*." It was my own observation that sutlers, as a class, exerted a very demoralizing influence.

In April the commissioners visited the New York troops under General Hunter on the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, but with indifferent success, having been preceded by osten-

sible agents of the New York common council, who, in the clumsy presentation of their own allotment system, prejudiced the men against any method. During the raising of the third levy—in the summer and fall of 1862—the commissioners visited all the regiments in their respective camps throughout the State and secured a large allotment. It was during this service that I became personally cognizant with the admirable work they were doing, which I was further brought in contact with a year later in Washington, Virginia and the camps south of Harrisburg, Pa.

On November 15, 1862, the commission made a report to the President, from which some of the above information is abstracted, giving the allotments made up to that date by soldiers from this State as aggregating \$5,341,890.21 *per annum*. This vast sum represents, economically, socially and morally, more than can be conceived at this late day, when the abnormal and relaxing conditions of that long, exhausting war are forgotten or unknown. It was a work in the advantages of which the soldier, his family and his State participated, rendered by three men, who, doubtful of their military ability and value, gave in lieu of service under arms such other good service as they could in an unselfish and devoted spirit. All the saviors of our country did not go into the martial arena; if they had there would have been no salvation.

The efforts of the commissioners continued to the end of the war, but all the later recruiting was by individuals for the regiments in the field, or by drafting, or by purchase of men in the open mart to fill quotas, and it was difficult to reach these isolated cases, though in spite of obstacles many allotments were secured.

The experience gained by Messrs. Roosevelt and Dodge in the operation of the allotment system drew their attention, towards the close of the war, to the disadvantages which the families of deceased

soldiers, as also the disabled soldiers themselves, suffered in the collection of back pay and pensions. The procedure in these claims being intricate and technical, the claimants were apt to become the prey of unscrupulous pension agents, who deducted large commissions and often, in their own interest, delayed collections, causing great hardship. In coöperation with other leading citizens of New York city they organized the "Protective War Claim Association," of which the venerable General Winfield Scott was president, with an office at 35 Chambers street. The purpose of this organization was the collection of claims without any cost to the claimants, the giving of gratuitous advice to the discharged soldiers and sailors regarding bounties, pensions, etc., and, not least, in preventing the making of false claims against the Government—purposes of course very obnoxious to some parties. This good work was only closed when the pension and related business was monopolized by the pension agents through their practical alliance, for mutual benefit, with the organized veterans, an alliance that has achieved stupendous results.

Mr. Roosevelt died in February, 1878, and Mr. Bronson some time later, leaving Mr. Dodge the sole survivor of this trio of unselfish patriots.

APPENDIX B.*

HEADQUARTERS, DEPOTS, STOREHOUSES, BARRACKS AND CAMPS.

OF course the general headquarters were at Albany, where the Governor, adjutant-general and inspector-general had offices in the Capitol, where the Assembly library was given to the adjutant-general and two rooms built in the front of the spacious hall on the main floor were added to the offices of the Governor and adjutant-general. The inspector-general's office, when the Legislature was not in session, was in the ante-room and post-office of the Senate over the Executive Chamber. These rooms, which I occupied in 1861-62, had some hereditary associations, as my grandfather, James Burt, of Orange, had been in the Legislature for twenty years between 1797 and 1827. He voted in the Assembly on the bill to erect the Capitol, and was in the Senate ten years; my father was deputy clerk of that body for several years prior to 1829. Surgeon-General Vander Poel, for convenience, had his office in his residence on the northeast corner of Pearl and Steuben streets. The quartermaster-general had an office a part of the time in the Capitol and a part at the depot. General Arthur had his office in New York in the military storehouse, No. 51 Walker street, of which more anon.

* See pages 18, 46, 49, 96.

The three depots designated as the rendezvous for volunteers were as follows:

At Albany, in the industrial school building, a large brick structure in the southwest part of the city, to which many rough wooden additions were made. Brigadier-General John F. Rathbone, of Albany, was commandant. He was a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Albany, where he died in 1901 at an advanced age. His assistant adjutant-general was Charles Emory Smith, then just graduated from college, and since favorably known as editor of the Philadelphia Press, Minister to Russia and Postmaster-General.

The depot at New York was at brigade headquarters in the armory over the old market house on Grand and Centre streets. Brigadier-General Charles Yates was commandant. General Arthur had been a member of his staff.

In the autumn of 1861 there were established branch depots at Binghamton, Boonville, Buffalo, Cherry Valley, Cortland, Deposit, Geneseo, Hancock, Kingston, Le Roy, Lyons, Malone, Ogdensburg, Oswego, Plattsburgh, Potsdam, Rochester, Sackets Harbor, Syracuse and Troy.

The three principal depots were used for the first levy, and these and the branch depots for the second levy.

The depot at New York had from the first many places for rendezvous, among which were the Park barracks, the Battery barracks, No. 632 Broadway and other buildings in the city used temporarily; Camps Scott, Washington, Arthur, Decker, Peissner and Quarantine, in the towns of Castleton and New Brighton, Staten Island; on which also were camps at New Dorp and Elm Park. In Brooklyn there were camps in the city park and East New York, one at Flatbush, and on the Sound at Rikers, South Brothers and Davids islands, at Fort Schuyler and Willets Point, and at Scarsdale, Westchester county.

The most interesting of the barracks and camps in the State was the structure built in New York city in April and May, 1861, on the truncated triangle forming the southern part of the City Hall park, now occupied in part by the post-office building and Mail street. It was known as the Park barracks, and was in constant use until its demolition after the war in 1865. It was, in a primitive way, a picturesque building of wood, and the fine elm trees on its site were carefully preserved, their great rugged trunks appearing inside the building as Druidical columns supporting its roof, while from without were seen the branches shooting high above the edifice, giving it a peculiarly sylvan aspect, and when in foliage protecting it from the hot sun.

In the interior were spacious apartments for offices, kitchens, messrooms and for sleeping bunks accommodating a thousand men or more. The main entrance was at the north end on Broadway. These barracks were not only used for recruiting purposes in the city, but were also a convenient shelter for regiments passing through, to and from the field, and this use was not confined to the regiments of this State, but extended to those of all the New England States. As to these latter, there were special organizations of citizens, natives of the respective States, who not only welcomed these transient regiments, but added the luxuries of the season, usually fruits but occasionally ice cream, to the regular rations served in the messrooms. Colonel Frank Howe, who was military representative of Massachusetts, may be remembered by old city residents as quite conspicuous on these occasions. He had a great penchant for exhibiting his tall and rather handsome person and having his "doings" prominently chronicled in the papers.

Special welcome was given to the embrowned and tattered members of the shrunken regiments returning at the expiration of their

enlistment, the first of these being those of our first levy. Isolated soldiers on leave found a temporary asylum here, but in April, 1863, a spacious "home" for these was established by the State in two five-story warehouses, Nos. 50 and 52 Howard street, and the adjoining building, No. 16 Mercer street, which were comfortably fitted with all the appliances of a hotel, and where soldiers, without regard to their State, obtained without expense lodging, meals and other conveniences, including special attention to the wounded and sick. This house remained open until the close of the war.

The Park barracks are associated with many memories of the war times in the minds of all those who had a part in the State military establishment and of the thousands of veterans who were accommodated there, as also of old citizens who recall the many incidents connected with that quaint building. It is to be regretted that the city has no painting of the Park barracks as a memento of those exciting times, and also of the patriotic endeavors and public spirit of its citizens, and as a preservative of the scene where they gave welcome and God-speed to so many soldiers of this and other States. Yet why could we expect any such sentimental considerations by a city that subsequently relinquished this site to the United States for a paltry sum and the erection of an architectural monstrosity on it, and so mutilating our municipal park from every point of view, and contracting a space not only valuable in a sanitary sense, but also as a part of the open area or common connected with our civil life and annals for two and a half centuries?

The wooden barracks erected in the Battery park were of smaller dimensions and less importance, though very useful.

In 1861 the bark "Kate Stamler," anchored in New York, was used as a rendezvous for recruits for the "marine artillery."*

* See page 57.

At Plattsburgh were used the United States barracks on the Lake Champlain bluff, south of the town, which, having accommodations for two companies only, were supplemented by temporary additions made by the State.

The regimental camps for the third levy and the regiments, etc. (infantry when not otherwise specified), that were organized at them were as follows:

Albany, One Hundred and Thirteenth Regiment—two independent companies;

Auburn, One Hundred and Eleventh, One Hundred and Thirty-eighth and One Hundred and Sixtieth Regiments;

Brooklyn, One Hundred and Thirty-ninth, One Hundred and Fifty-eighth and One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Regiments;

Binghamton, One Hundred and Ninth and One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Regiments;

Buffalo, One Hundred and Sixteenth and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Regiments and one battery of artillery;

Delhi, One Hundred and Forty-fourth Regiment;

Elmira, One Hundred and Seventh, One Hundred and Forty-first and One Hundred and Sixty-first Regiments;

Fonda, One Hundred and Fifteenth and One Hundred and Fifty-third Regiments;

Geneva, One Hundred and Twenty-sixth and One Hundred and Forty-eighth Regiments;

Goshen, One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Regiment;

Hamilton, One Hundred and Fifty-seventh Regiment;

Hudson, One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regiment;

Jamestown, One Hundred and Twelfth and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth Regiments;

Kingston, One Hundred and Twentieth and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Regiments;

Lockport, One Hundred and Twenty-ninth and One Hundred and Fifty-first Regiments and four batteries of artillery;

Mohawk, One Hundred and Twenty-first and One Hundred and Fifty-second Regiments;

Monticello, One Hundred and Forty-third Regiment;

New York, One Hundred and Nineteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-seventh, One Hundred and Thirty-first, One Hundred and Thirty-second, One Hundred and Thirty-third, One Hundred and Forty-fifth, One Hundred and Sixty-second, One Hundred and Sixty-third, One Hundred and Sixty-fourth, One Hundred and Seventieth, One Hundred and Seventy-first and One Hundred and Seventy-third Regiments;*

Norwich, One Hundred and Fourteenth Regiment;

Ogdensburg, One Hundred and Sixth and One Hundred and Forty-second Regiments;

Oswego, One Hundred and Tenth and One Hundred and Forty-seventh Regiments and one battery of artillery;

Plattsburgh, One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment;

Portage, One Hundred and Thirtieth and One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Regiments;

Poughkeepsie, One Hundred and Fiftieth Regiment;

Rochester, One Hundred and Eighth and One Hundred and Fortieth Regiments and two batteries of artillery;

Rome, One Hundred and Seventeenth and One Hundred and Forty-sixth Regiments;

Salem, One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment;

* While these regiments were finally organized in and around New York, their component parts should be credited to other localities for the most part. They were partially formed of companies raised elsewhere and consolidated in New York, but it would be difficult to give the proper credits now.

Sackets Harbor, four battalions of artillery;

Stapleton, S. I., One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Regiment;

Syracuse, One Hundred and Twenty-second and One Hundred and Forty-ninth Regiments;

Troy, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth and One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiments;

Yonkers, One Hundred and Thirty-fifth and One Hundred and Seventy-second regiments;

At most of these camps barracks, mess buildings, etc., were erected except where there were those that had been built or leased for the earlier levies.

The military storehouse at Albany was in a rented warehouse on Broadway opposite the steamboat landing. Colonel Isaac Vanderpool was the military storekeeper.

At the Elmira depot Brigadier-General Robert B. Van Valkenburgh (N. Y. Militia) was commandant, with headquarters in two storehouses on Baldwin street back of the (then) Brainerd House. The military storehouse was a part of the same buildings, under charge of Colonel C. C. B. Walker.

Early in May, 1861, orders were received from Albany to prepare for the reception of ten companies of the first levy, but forty arrived almost simultaneously; a part of this unexpected muster was quartered in a building recently erected for a barrel factory and thereafter used and known as Barracks No. 1, and the remainder temporarily quartered in churches, etc., until rented lodgings could be procured. Commodious barracks were later built on the banks of the Chemung river, east of the city, and used for all the levies, and in 1863-64 were occupied by the Confederate prisoners collected at Elmira under the general supervision of Colonel Benjamin F. Tracy, One Hundred and Ninth Regiment, Volunteer Infantry.

General Van Valkenburgh's assistant adjutant-general was Captain William Rumsey, who resigned in August, 1861, to take the adjutancy of the First Regiment New York Artillery, and has been a judge of the Supreme Court—1881 to 1901. He was succeeded by Captain Ira Davenport, who was State Senator 1880-81 and State Comptroller 1882-83. General Van Valkenburgh was commissioned colonel of the One Hundred and Seventh Regiment Volunteer Infantry in September, 1862, being then a member of Congress, as was also Alexander S. Diven, who was lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment and its colonel after October 21, 1862. General Van Valkenburgh served two terms in Congress and was United States minister to Japan 1866-70. Colonel Diven was assistant United States provost-marshal-general in 1863-64 in charge of the conscription in this State.

Colonel Elliott F. Shepard became commandant of the Elmira depot in September, 1862.

At New York General Arthur, in the early part of May, 1861, secured a new warehouse at 51 Walker street, which, with its novel iron front and four stories, was conspicuous in a block of old-time low buildings. The military stores were received here, issued to regiments in the vicinity and shipped to the other military stores. The building was spacious, occupying about all of the lot, and in the upper stories were offices for the departments of the quartermaster and inspector generals and the auditing boards. It was the center of vast activities in the exigent period when 60,000 recruits were fitted out in July and August, and was not abandoned until May 1, 1865.

The State ordnance department was administered in the new State arsenal on the northeast corner of Seventh avenue and Thirty-fifth street. It had recently replaced the old arsenal in Central

park, facing Fifth avenue at Sixty-fourth street, since occupied by the park department and surrounded by the menagerie buildings. In the new arsenal were stored cannon, small arms and their accoutrements and a certain amount of cartridges. It was invested by the rioters in July, 1863, and became one of the principal points of concern in those perilous days, since the capture of its arms and ammunition would, under the grave condition of affairs, have made the mob invincible.

Colonels of New York Volunteer Regiments Promoted by the President to be Brigadier-Generals of United States Volunteers.

NAME.	Colonel of	Date of Rank.
Michael Corcoran,	69th Militia,	July 21, 1861
Henry W. Slocum,	27th Regiment Infantry,	August 9, 1861
Louis Blenker,	8th Regiment Infantry,	August 9, 1861
Abraham Duryea,	5th Regiment Infantry,	August 31, 1861
Daniel E. Sickles,	70th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 3, 1861
Issac I. Stevens,	79th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 28, 1861
Julius Stahel,	8th Regiment Infantry,	Nov. 12, 1861
Thomas A. Davies,	16th Regiment Infantry,	March 7, 1862
Isaac F. Quinby,	13th Regiment Infantry,	March 17, 1862
James H. Van Alen,	3d Regiment Cavalry,	April 15, 1862
Max Weber,	20th Regiment Infantry,	April 28, 1862
George S. Greene,	60th Regiment Infantry,	April 28, 1862
John Cochrane,	65th Regiment Infantry,	July 17, 1862
Joseph B. Carr,	2nd Regiment Infantry,	August 29, 1862
Joseph J. Bartlett,	27th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 4, 1862
Nelson Taylor,	72d Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 9, 1862
Edward Ferrero,	51st Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 10, 1862
Adolph Von Steinwehr,	29th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 12, 1862
Calvin E. Pratt,	31st Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 13, 1862
Francis C. Barlow,	61st Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 19, 1862
Gouverneur K. Warren,	5th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 26, 1862
J. H. Hobart Ward,	38th Regiment Infantry,	Oct. 4, 1862
Charles C. Dodge,	1st Regiment Mounted Rifles,	Nov. 29, 1862
Lewis C. Hunt,	92d Regiment Infantry,	Nov. 29, 1862
William Dwight, Jr.	70th Regiment Infantry,	Nov. 29, 1862
Wladimir Kryzhanowski,	58th Regiment Infantry,	Nov. 29, 1862
James H. Ledlie,	3d Regiment Artillery,	Dec. 4, 1862
Daniel Ullman,	78th Regiment Infantry,	Jan. 13, 1863
Francis L. Vinton,	43d Regiment Infantry,	March 13, 1863
Robert B. Potter,	51st Regiment Infantry,	March 13, 1863
Charles K. Graham,	74th Regiment Infantry,	March 15, 1863
William H. Morris,	6th Regiment Artillery,	April 2, 1863
Gustavus A. De Russey,	4th Regiment Artillery,	May 23, 1863
Samuel K. Zook,	57th Regiment Infantry,	May 23, 1863
Alexander Shaler,	65th Regiment Infantry,	May 26, 1863
Judson Kilpatrick,	2d Regiment Cavalry,	June 13, 1863
Alfred N. Duffie,	(Major) 2d Cavalry,	June 24, 1863
Edward P. Chapin,	116th Regiment Infantry,	June 27, 1863
Kenner Garrard,	146th Regiment Infantry,	July 23, 1863
James C. Rice,	44th Regiment Infantry,	August 17, 1863
Henry E. Davies,	2d Regiment Cavalry,	Sept. 16, 1863
Regis De Trobriand,	38th Regiment Infantry,	Jan. 5, 1864
Nelson A. Miles,	61st Regiment Infantry,	May 12, 1864
Emory Upton,	121st Regiment Infantry,	July 4, 1864
Daniel D. Bidwell,	49th Regiment Infantry,	August 11, 1864
Thomas W. Egan,	40th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 2, 1864
Wm. H. Seward, Jr.	9th Regiment Artillery,	Oct. 4, 1864
Alfred Gibbs,	1st Regiment Dragoons,	Dec. 8, 1864
N. Martin Curtis,	142d Regiment Infantry,	Jan. 24, 1865
Thomas C. Devin,	6th Regiment Cavalry,	March 13, 1865
John H. Ketcham,	150th Regiment Infantry,	April 1, 1865
Patrick H. Jones,	154th Regiment Infantry,	May 9, 1865
Joseph E. Hamblin,	65th Regiment Infantry,	May 19, 1865
Henry A. Barnum,	149th Regiment Infantry,	May 31, 1865
Charles H. Van Wyck,	56th Regiment Infantry,	Sept. 27, 1865
William B. Tibbits,	21st Regiment Cavalry,	Oct. 28, 1865
Morgan H. Chrysler,	2d Veteran Cavalry,	Nov. 11, 1865

NOTES.—Many of these brigadier-generals were subsequently appointed major-generals of volunteers and some entered the Regular Army. Three generals were appointed from the Second Cavalry and the Sixty-fifth Infantry, and two from each of the following

regiments: Fifth, Eighth, Twenty-seventh, Fifty-first, Sixty-first and Seventieth Infantry.

General Slocum, a West Pointer, participated in all the battles of the East up to the fight at Gettysburg, where he commanded the right wing of the Army of the Potomac. Subsequently was transferred to the western army, where he commanded the twentieth corps; the army of Georgia and the left wing of Sherman's army on its march to the sea through Carolina. For a detailed sketch of General Slocum and General Sickles see Second Annual Report of the State Historian, pages 29-34. General Slocum died 11th of April, 1894.

General Thomas A. Davies was a graduate of West Point of the class of 1829; was assigned to the First Infantry, but resigned in 1831 to practice civil engineering in the city of New York. At the outbreak of the war he was in business in that city and was assigned to the Sixteenth New York Volunteers as colonel. He was made brigadier-general March 7, 1862, and participated in the Mississippi campaign; from 1862 to June, 1865, was in command of departments in the West and Northwest. He died near Ogdensburg 19th of August, 1899.

General John Cochrane was descended from revolutionary stock, his grandfather being surgeon-general of the Continental Army. John Cochrane was surveyor of the port of New York, 1853. He was a member of Congress, 1857-61, brigadier-general, 1864-65, and died the 7th of February, 1898.

General Carr attained high distinction during the war for his military ability. He was Secretary of State, 1880-86, and died at Troy, N. Y., the 24th of February, 1895.

General Bartlett was regarded as one of the best dressed officers in the Army of the Potomac; was minister to Sweden in 1867; sub-

sequently commissioner of pensions; died at Baltimore the 14th of January, 1893.

General Pratt was another officer very highly regarded in the volunteer service; he occupied a seat on the Supreme Court bench in Kings county from 1870 to his death, August 3, 1898.

General Barlow, one of the youngest generals in the army, and severely wounded in the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg, was Secretary of State, 1866-67, and Attorney-General, 1872-73; died 11th of January, 1896.

General Warren, a West Point graduate, held important commands during the war; for a detailed sketch of General Warren see Second Annual Report of the State Historian, pages 38-45.

General Ward was State commissary-general, 1856-60.

General Dodge was a son of William E. Dodge, the well known merchant and philanthropist of New York city; after the war practiced his profession of the law in the western part of New York and was promoted to the bench and established a reputation of a great jurist.

General Ullman was the nominee of the "Know-Nothing" party for Governor in 1854.

General Vinton was a graduate of West Point and member of a well known military family, his father having been killed in the Mexican war.

General Potter was a son of Bishop Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania and brother of Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York.

General Graham was surveyor of the port of New York, 1878-83, and naval officer of same, 1883-85; died the 15th of April, 1889.

General Morris was a West Point graduate and son of George P. Morris, a writer of some repute and author of "Woodman, Spare that Tree", etc. See page 104 for biography.

General Kilpatrick became one of the leading cavalry generals of the war and subsequently minister resident to Chili; died at Valparaiso the 4th of December, 1881.

General George S. Greene was born in Rhode Island, graduated No. 2 in the West Point class of 1823. He was a distinguished officer during the War of the Rebellion. For several years before his death he was the oldest surviving graduate of the West Point academy. He died at Morristown, N. J., January 28, 1899. For a detailed sketch of General Greene's life, see Second Annual Report of the State Historian, pages 53-56.

General Charles H. Van Wyck, a native of Poughkeepsie, entered the Union Army as colonel of the Tenth Legion of the Fifty-sixth N. Y. Volunteers and commanded it throughout the war. He was elected to the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, Fortieth and Forty-first Congress from the Orange county district; removed to Nebraska and subsequently served that State in the United States Senate.

General H. E. Davies, son of Judge H. E. Davies, Court of Appeals.

General Miles has gradually risen to his present position of lieutenant-general U. S. A.

General Upton was a graduate of West Point and published immediately after the war a treatise on military tactics which took the place of the previous "Hardee Tactics"; while in command of the Presidio at San Francisco his mind became affected, and during a temporary aberration he took his life on March 4th, 1881.

General Seward is son of the great New York statesman, William H. Seward, and is a prominent banker of Auburn, N. Y.

General N. Martin Curtis, member of Congress for several terms; member of Assembly several terms; resident of Ogdensburg, N. Y.

General Jones, postmaster New York city, 1869-73; register of New York city, 1868-69, 1874-77.

General Barnum, inspector of prisons, 1866-69; member of Assembly, 1885; died in New York city 29th January, 1892.

General John Henry Ketcham was born at Dover, N. Y., December 21, 1832; member of Assembly in 1856, 1857; State Senator, 1860, 1861; member of the war committee for his senatorial district; resigned from the army March, 1865, to take a seat in Congress; was elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses; received the title of major general by brevet.

The general officers from this State who were killed in action or died while in the service were:

General Isaac I. Stevens, killed in action at Chantilly September 1, 1862;

General Edwin V. Sumner, died at Syracuse March 21, 1863;

General Chapin, killed in action at Port Hudson May 27, 1863;

General Samuel K. Zook, killed in action at Gettysburg July 2, 1863;

General Michael Corcoran, died December 22, 1863;

General James C. Rice, killed in action in the Wilderness May 10, 1864;

General James S. Wadsworth, died of wounds received in the battle of the Wilderness May 8, 1864;

General David A. Russell, killed in action at the battle of Opequon September 19, 1864;

General Bidwell, killed at the battle of Cedar Creek October 19, 1864.

APPENDIX C.*

THE DEFENSES OF NEW YORK.

THE war with Spain, which was officially declared April 21, 1898, threw this country forward ten years in the matter of strengthening coast defenses. Up to the time of the sinking of the *Maine*, Congress had displayed not only a most parsimonious but a most indifferent policy regarding our national defenses. The importance of providing suitable armament and of adequate forces for the protection of our great seaport towns was overlooked and disregarded to a degree that was next door to criminal. Army and naval experts for years had declared in interviews, in the public press, in magazines and in official reports that the next war would fall upon us suddenly and would be decided before we were in a state of preparedness. Predictions were frequently heard from coolheaded and able generals that a declaration of war would be followed immediately by the appearance of a hostile fleet in the harbors of New York, Boston, Washington or San Francisco. Military students and observers were keenly alive to the appalling dangers that threatened our country, for it was a recognized fact that, unlike all previous wars where troops could be precipitately thrown together and mobilized while their equipment, guns and ammunition were being manufactured for them, years of preparation were necessary in the con-

* See page 88.

struction of modern ammunition, modern ordnance and the instruction necessary for the soldier to handle the implements of warfare as conducted to-day.

As has been usual at every crisis in the history of this country, Congress displayed its hysterical spasm of patriotism and promptly voted an emergency fund of fifty million of dollars to be used by the President in pitching the country into a state of defense by land and sea.

Under the distribution of this fund, the different departments of the army and navy entrusted with the severe responsibilities so suddenly thrust upon them worked with an energy and accomplished results in a short space of time that aroused the admiration of the entire country. Not only was New York harbor speedily converted into a fortress that was almost impregnable, but the work of development has progressed until to-day it could successfully withstand an assault from any one of the great European powers. The works at Sandy Hook, now called Fort Hancock, at the Narrows, at the eastern extremity of Long Island, at Throgs Neck and Willets Point, are mounted with the heaviest and most effective siege guns manufactured, together with batteries of 12-inch mortars and secondary batteries of rapid-fire guns. The heaviest caliber guns are mounted on disappearing gun carriages, and are invisible, except for the few seconds' exposure in firing, from a vessel approaching the coast. To-day New York city is in better shape to meet an armed host from the sea or by land than at any time in the history of the country. The work is still progressing.

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